



Mr. Tolson

Mr. DeLoach

Mr. Mohr

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-21-2011 BY 65179 DMH/DF

Mr. Conrad

Mr. Felt

Mr. Gale

Mr. Rosen

Mr. Sullivan

Mr. Tavel

Mr. Trotter

Tele. Room

Miss Holmes

Miss Gandy

F B I

Date: 9/5/69

REGISTERED

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

(Priority)

Transmit the following in

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-142056)

RE: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55497) (P)

SUBJECT: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.  
SM - SBS  
(KEY ACTIVIST)

Re Bureau 6-1 dated 8/27/69. Further reference is made to San Francisco teletype dated 8/13/69 and Boston teletype dated 8/14/69.

No information has been developed from referenced teletypes to positively establish that OGLESBY has returned to his home in San Francisco.

However, [REDACTED] b6 b7C  
San Francisco, who has been utilized as a neighborhood source, advised on 8/11/69 that she had seen OGLESBY at his residence about one week previously but had not seen him since. (This would establish his presence in San Francisco after his departure from New Hampshire as set forth in Boston airtel.)

On 8/13/69, [REDACTED] tried to contact Subject at [REDACTED] b7D  
his home. Neither Subject [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b6 b7C  
was in New Hampshire. It was on this information that the teletype to Boston was based.

On the weekend of 8/16/69, [REDACTED] moved to [REDACTED] b6 b7C  
Milbrae, California. At request, she returned to her former residence on 8/18/69 and contacted [REDACTED] However, [REDACTED] reported that she was unable to ascertain the location of Subject from [REDACTED]

② - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Boston (100-37094) (RM)  
2 - San Francisco

CLJ:bas

(6) F13

EX-102 REC-51

100-142056-135  
B SEP 17 1969

5-74

Approved: F13 Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Asst. Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

CPO-925

A reexamination of the neighborhood disclosed that the tenant who had previously resided at [redacted] had moved and this apartment is now occupied by [redacted]. The former tenant had never been contacted because she was employed by [redacted] and it was obvious that any contact with her would be unproductive and ill advised.'

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It was ascertained that [redacted] is a Negro female who is employed by the [redacted]

[redacted] was contacted on 8/27/69. She said she had met Mr. and Mrs. OGLESBY but had seen him only a few times, all of which were the result of happenstance and that she has not established contact with the OGLESBYS or any basis on which to establish a close relationship. She said that she has not happened to see OGLESBY during the past two weeks or more but that Mrs. OGLESBY and the OGLESBY children are still living at the 1268 Vermont Street apartment. [redacted] agreed to volunteer and furnish any information that she obtains concerning the whereabouts of OGLESBY but refused to make any inquiry in an effort to determine his location. She explained that she did not want to become involved and refused to be convinced that she should do more than report on whatever observations she happens to make.

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The property at 1266-70 Vermont Street consists of three flats, each having its own street number and entrance. The second story flat is numbered 1268 and is the one occupied by OGLESBY. This property [redacted] San Francisco. [redacted]

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When OGLESBY, who speaks no Spanish, rented the flat at 1268 Vermont Street and moved in on November 1, 1968, [redacted] was actually living in that flat and was engaged in making some repairs during off hours from his employment.

[redacted] retained one room in the flat for a short time but at the insistence of OGLESBY, he gave up this room and returned to live with [redacted]. However, during this initial period, [redacted] became acquainted with the OGLESBY family and in 1968 was able to and did furnish valuable and accurate information concerning OGLESBY and his family. However, as all flats were rented, the repair work was completed, and the rents paid by mail [redacted] had no valid reason to visit the OGLESBYS who did not encourage his visits.

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In latter August, [redacted] was on vacation and out of the city. He was contacted on his return on 8/30/69. On 9/2/69, [redacted] stated he had gone to the OGLESBY flat on 9/1/69 but neither the Subject nor his wife were there. A babysitter was there with the OGLESBY children but she knew nothing about the whereabouts of either of the OGLESBYS. [redacted] again visited the property on 9/3/69 and advised on 9/4/69 that there was no one at the OGLESBY residence but that their furniture and property was still there. [redacted] will utilize his interest in renting the 1270 Vermont flat as a continuing reason to visit there on a daily basis in an effort to determine the location of the Subject. The rent due to be paid on 9/1/69 has not been received.

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[redacted] is not in the San Francisco Area having departed in connection with his personal film making activities on 8/13/69.

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On 9/2/69, [redacted] stated she has not seen the Subject.

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[redacted]  
There was no answer to his telephone number on 9/3 and 9/4/69.

Efforts will be continued to locate the Subject through [redacted] and [redacted].

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For the additional information of the Bureau, certain features of the investigation to determine whereabouts and activities of OGLESBY will be noted.

His residence on Vermont Street is in an integrated neighborhood which is about 90 percent Spanish speaking. The neighbors are people who are first of all reluctant to inquire about others and, in the second place, seem to be unable to initiate and develop contacts with OGLESBY to obtain information concerning him. The houses are so constructed that bedrooms are in the front and access to living rooms and general living areas of the flats is through a long hallway. The results is that the neighbors are infrequently in position to observe the street. In fact, they only see any neighbors when they are on the street themselves.

The neighborhood situation is further complicated by there being no houses at all on the opposite side of the street. The opposite side of the street is the fenced side of the Bayshore Freeway.

Another difficulty arises from the complete inactivity of OGLESBY in Bay Area New Left activities. Since coming to the Bay Area, no source of the San Francisco Office or any policy department or other agency has ever reported OGLESBY at any meeting, either public or private. Informants and sources, other than [redacted] have had no avenue through which they could hope to establish contact with him. [redacted] has attempted to involve OGLESBY in [redacted]

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[redacted] OGLESBY indicates an interest when approached in these matters and is willing to discuss plans in generalities but he is never sufficiently interested to take any action to follow the lead of [redacted] and each contact fails to establish any continuing rapport.

Inasmuch as OGLESBY has never attended SBS meetings, has never spoken at public gatherings in the area, and, so far as is known, has never even attended any of the numerous demonstrations at San Francisco State College or Berkeley, California, he is unknown to the rank and file of the New Left other than through his reputation which was established prior to his coming to San Francisco. It is noted that OGLESBY is criticized by the PLP faction of SDS; that he was not re-elected to the National Interim Committee of SDS (NO) and that he has also been criticized as not agreeing with the National Office leadership of SDS. Consequently, there are no regularly investigated activities which produce any information to identify Subject's current thinking, attitudes or activity.

Inasmuch as OGLESBY has told [redacted] and [redacted] in the past that he is employed in writing and as OGLESBY no longer has articles appearing in New Left Notes and similar publications, [redacted] holds the opinion OGLESBY is writing a book, but this source has been unable to confirm this opinion as OGLESBY has turned aside any direct discussion of his writing.

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However, in Bureau letter dated 8/29/69, captioned [redacted] SM - SDS, Bufile 100-454511," it is pointed out that [redacted] had commented in a letter that he, RENNIE DAVIS, CARL OGLESBY and JERRY RUBIN were talking at the SDS National Convention about establishing another organization. In the event these subjects do form such an organization, the new

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SF 100-55497  
CLJ:bas

group might form a basis for reestablishing a position for OGLESBY in the New Left.

San Francisco notes that the above information through [redacted] is the first information that OGLESBY attended the SDS National Convention. OGLESBY was in San Francisco on the first two days of that Convention and no informants have reported him at the National Convention. For this reason, San Francisco would appreciate receiving from the Bureau a copy of the New York letter and LHM dated 8/11/69 concerning [redacted] and his contact with OGLESBY et al.

*sent  
51  
9/16/69*

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Copies of this letter have been designated for Boston and any additional information available concerning OGLESBY's activities in New Hampshire would be appreciated.

CPO-929

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE SAN FRANCISCO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN SAN FRANCISCO	DATE 10/27/69	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 7/20/69 - 10/16/69
TITLE OF CASE CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.		REPORT MADE BY CHESTER L. JACOBY	TYPED BY jo
		CHARACTER OF CASE SM - SDS (KEY ACTIVIST)	

REFERENCES: Report of SA CHESTER L. JACOBY dated 7/17/69, at San Francisco.

- P -

*Notarized*

*3*

### ENCLOSURES

TO THE BUREAU

Two (2) copies of FD 376.

### ADMINISTRATIVE:

In a letter dated 8/28/69, to San Francisco, the Sacramento Office suggested that [REDACTED] University of California, Berkeley, California, might be interviewed concerning the Subject's

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ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES	
						PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO
						PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO

APPROVED	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE:		105-142056-136	EX-106
8 - Bureau (105-142056) [REDACTED] (RM)			REG-86
1 - Secret Service, San Francisco			
Class 3 (RM)			
3 - San Francisco (100-55497)			
0-17, SF 11/6/69 all info [REDACTED]			

Notations

8-1-00 805-JC/TWB  
447931 922191

Dissemination Record of Attached Report			
Agency	ACSI, S.S., RAO (ISD)		
Request Recd.			
Date Fwd.	11/6/69		
How Fwd.	11/6/69		
By	WNP/ra		
cc	922-922		
2cc - destroyed			

CPO-930

SF 100-55497  
CLJ:jo

remarks at University of Pacific, Stockton, California. However, based on analysis of prior contacts with [redacted] and his previously expressed opinions, such an interview would be embarrassing to the Bureau and it is not being conducted.

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The entire essay by Subject as published by "Liberation" is being set forth because Subject's thinking, his positions, and his attitudes toward many phases of current revolutionary activities are interspersed throughout the article and cannot be summarized in context.

LEADS

SAN FRANCISCO

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA: Will contact [redacted] b6  
[redacted] b7C  
Wells Fargo Bank, early in November 1969  
to obtain details concerning any additional deposits to Subject's bank account, number 0064-253156.

2. Will continue the investigation of Subject's activities and surep in 90 days.

INFORMANTS

SF T-1 is [redacted] b7D

[redacted] b7D

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b7D SF T-2 is [redacted] Boston 100-37094  
East Sullivan, New Hampshire  
(be request)

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b7C  
b7D SF T-3 is [redacted] 100-55497-191  
22nd and Mission Branch of  
Wells Fargo Bank,  
San Francisco, California  
(by request)

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b7D SF T-4 is [redacted]  
New York Telephone Company,  
New York, New York  
(by request)

CPO-931

SF 100-55497  
CLJ:jo

INFORMANTS cont.

SF T-5 is

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b7D

NY

New York PSI

b7D

SF T-6 is

b7D

NY

The following furnished negative information concerning OGLESBY:

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] PSI

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] PSI

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] PCI

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] PSI

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] PSI

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] PSI

[REDACTED]

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C -

CPO-932

1.  Subject's name is included in the  Security Index or  Agitator Index.
2.  The data appearing on the  Security Index Card  Agitator Index Card are current.
3.  Changes on the  Security Index Card  Agitator Index Card are necessary and  Form FD-122  FD-397 submitted to the Bureau.
4.  A suitable photograph  is  is not available.  
Date photograph was taken \_\_\_\_\_.
5.  Subject is employed in a key facility and \_\_\_\_\_ is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are \_\_\_\_\_.
6.  This report is classified Confidential because (state reason) **data furnished by SF T-1 and SF T-3 through SF T-6 could, if disclosed, reasonably result in identification of sources of continuing value and compromise their effectiveness.**
7.  Subject previously interviewed (dates) \_\_\_\_\_.  
 Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason) \_\_\_\_\_.
8.  This case no longer meet the  Security Index  Agitator Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation.
9.  This case has been reevaluated in the light of the  Security Index  Agitator Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason) **of his continuing public influence on revolutionary activity.**
10.  Subject's SI card  is  is not tabbed Detcom.  
 Subject's activities warrant Detcom tabbing because (state reasons) \_\_\_\_\_.

PRIORITY I

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

October 27, 1969

Director  
United States Secret Service  
Department of the Treasury  
Washington, D. C. 20220

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1.  Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2.  Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3.  Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4.  U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5.  Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
  - (a)  Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
  - (b)  Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
  - (c)  Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6.  Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph  has been furnished  enclosed  is not available  
 may be available through \_\_\_\_\_

*(Classification)*  
J. E. H. S. A.   
b6  
b7C  
Date DEC 12 1969

Very truly yours,

*John Edgar Hoover*  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

*DECLASSIFIED CT 10/14/2014*  
ON 10/14/2014

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) 1)  
U. S. Secret Service, San Francisco

~~C - T - A - L~~

Enclosure(s)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)

CPO-934

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

C. O. N. E. R. T. D. E. N. E. T. A. L.

**Copy to:** 1 - Secret Service, San Francisco  
Class 3 (RM)

Report of: CHESTER L. JACOBY Office: San Francisco, California  
Date: 10/27/69

Field Office File #: 100-55497 Bureau File #: 105-142056

Title: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.

Character: SECURITY MATTER - STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY [REDACTED]

### Synopsis:

The Subject resides at 1268 Vermont Street, San Francisco, California. He did not attend the SDS National Convention in June 1969, and has no known current position with SDS. He has been inactive in public affairs of new left in San Francisco Bay Area according to confidential informants and sources. The August-September 1969 issue of "Liberation" published an essay by Subject setting forth his position on "the movement".

**DETAILS:**

## I. BACKGROUND

#### A. Residence and Employment

On August 13, 1969, a resident of Subject's home advised that OGLESBY was in New Hampshire.

SF T-1, 8/13/69

12/21/76 G77/alf

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A. L.  
C. A. T. P. M.  
audited and read  
and signed

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

SF 100-55497

CLJ:jo

OGLESBY stayed with a [redacted] at East Sullivan, New Hampshire, for approximately two weeks, but neither OGLESBY nor [redacted] were at East Sullivan as of August 14, 1969. OGLESBY had received no known communications during the period he was at East Sullivan.

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SF T-2, 8/14/69

The Subject was not at his residence on August 19, 1969, and his whereabouts could not be determined.

[redacted]  
Millbrae, California,  
8/19/69

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As of August 27, 1969, Subject had not been seen at his home for two weeks. He was still away on September 2, 1969.

[redacted]  
8/27/69, and 9/2/69

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Subject and his family were absent from their residence at 1268 Vermont Street, from September 1, through 9, 1969. He returned to this residence on September 10, 1969.

[redacted]  
9/2/69 - 9/11/69

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As of October 16, 1969, OGLESBY was residing at 1268 Vermont Street, and is self-employed as a writer from his residence.

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[redacted]  
Supra  
10/16/69

B. Finances

~~At the time of the 10/16/69 interview, OGLESBY, a self-employed writer, and [redacted] a housewife, 1268 Vermont Street, San Francisco, opened commercial account number 0064-253156 on May 26, 1969, at the 22nd Street and Mission Branch of Wells Fargo Bank. The initial deposit was \$1,000. As of September 3, 1969, the balance in the account was \$509.75. As of September 25, 1969,~~

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SF 100-55497

CLJ:jo

the balance was \$5. The last deposit in the account was \$215 on August 11, 1969.

SF T-3, 9/25/69

The foregoing information is confidential and can be made public only through the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum directed to the manager of the 22nd and Mission Branch of Wells Fargo Bank, San Francisco.

## II. ACTIVITIES

[redacted] University of the Pacific (UOP), Stockton, California, advised on August 18, 1969, that Subject was one of the respondents to a speech given by Dr. JOHN SEARLE, Professor of Philosophy at the University of California, Berkeley, at the Clausen - Tippett Symposium given at UOP on March 24, 1969. Dr. SEARLE's speech was entitled, "Confrontation and Confusion on the American College Campus".

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[redacted] stated that to his knowledge, no recording was made of this speech. He further advised that it is the policy of the University to not release a recorded speech of this nature. It is his opinion, based on statements made by OGLESBY that the Subject is a philosopher and not a revolutionary. He made no further specific remarks in this regard.

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In April or May 1969, a call was made from a telephone listed to [redacted] in New York, New York, to telephone number 415-648-3023.

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SF 4, 5/29/69

[redacted]  
[redacted] New York, New York, has been a member of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). since 1966. He has served in SDS as an [redacted]  
[redacted] and as a member of the National Interim Committee. He has travelled abroad in connection with SDS and anti-war activities, and was arrested on April 30, 1968, during a demonstration on the campus of Columbia University. which activities resulted in his being [redacted]  
[redacted]

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SF 100-55497  
CLJ:jo

Telephone number 415-648-3023 is publicly listed to CARL OGLESBY, 1268 Vermont Street, San Francisco, California.

[redacted] of Brookline, New Hampshire, who was a member of SDS at Columbia University, New York, New York, in 1968, stated in July 1969 that he had been bewildered by the split in SDS so much so that he and RENNIE DAVIS had not attended the last day of the SDS National Convention in June 1969. HYMAN went on to state that he and RENNIE DAVIS, CARL OGLESBY and JERRY RUBIN, had talked about establishing another organization. However, this had not progressed beyond the level of talk.

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SF T-5, 8/11/69

JERRY RUBIN is a self-proclaimed "revolutionary". RENNIE DAVIS is a national officer of the National Mobilization Committee to end the war in Vietnam.

SF T-5, 8/11/69

On August 4, 1969, National Education Television was in contact with SDS in New York City in an effort to locate CARL OGLESBY and was advised that OGLESBY lives in San Francisco.

SF T-6, 8/7/69

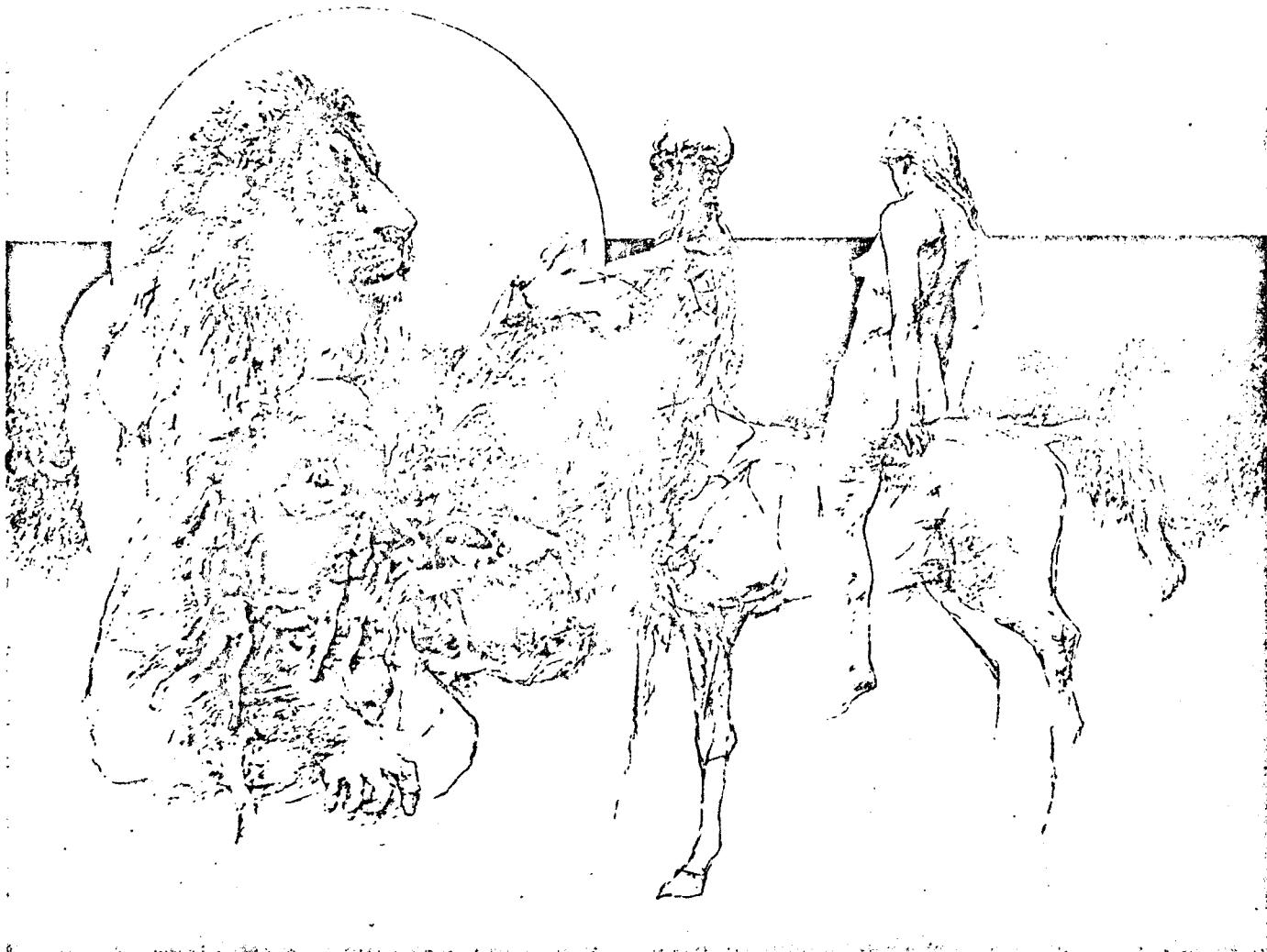
Confidential informants and sources who have knowledge of various phases of SDS and new left activities in the San Francisco area have advised during October 1969 they have no knowledge of any activities by CARL OGLESBY in the San Francisco area. These sources established that OGLESBY did not participate in an SDS led demonstration against the International Industrial Conference at San Francisco on September 15, 1969 and he did not speak or participate in the demonstrations against the war in Vietnam which were sponsored by anti-war groups in San Francisco on October 15, 1969.

"Liberation", a magazine published in New York, New York, in its double issue numbered five and six, covering August-September 1969, published a series of articles as a symposium on "The Movement Ten Years From Now". The featured article of the series is an essay by CARL OGLESBY entitled, "Notes On A Decade Ready For The Dustbin". In this article

CPO-938

SF 100-55497  
CLJ:jo

OGLESBY refers to his own thinking through past years, as well as his analysis of the development of "the movement". This article is reproduced on the following pages. OGLESBY states therein that he did not attend the SDS National Convention in June 1969 and points out mistakes made by SDS and by other revolutionary groups. His current opinion is summarized in conclusion as, "We are not now free to fight The Revolution except in fantasy. This is not a limit we can presently transcend; it is set by all the over-all situation, and it will only be lifted by a real breakdown within the system of production. Nor will the lifting of the limit be the end of our fight; it will be just the possibility of its beginning".



# Notes on a Decade Ready for the Dustbin

Carl Oglesby

The idea of trying to visualize ourselves five or ten years from now seems to me hopeless but necessary, so I'm writing a letter instead of a paper just because it seems easier in the former to float, stammer, and skip.

Hopeless—to put it most abstractly—because I don't think we have anything like a predictive science of political economy. We *approach* having an explanatory art of history, I think, and sometimes we can build up a head of steam-bound analogies and go crashing an inch or so through the future barrier, but it always turns out we land sideways or even upside down. And more practically, hopeless because in a situation as sensitive as what the world's in now, mankind as a whole lives under the permanent Terror of the Accidental.

But necessary, too, this idea, because even if we're never going to surpass improvisatory politics, we could still improvise better if we were clearer about ourselves and the

country, and the effort to think about the future always turns out to be an effort to think about the present. Which is all to the good. So I'll start with the past—to get a sense of trajectory, if any, or the rhythm of our experience, to see if there's a line of flight:

## 1960-64

As well the Freedom Rides as Greensboro? But then, as well the desegregation decision as the Freedom Rides... etc. Whenever it began, this was the Heroic Period, the movement's Bronze Age. In transition ever since, the movement has yet to prove it will have a Classical Period, but maybe we're on the verge. Essentially, a single-issue reform politics; integration the leading public demand, although underneath that demand, there's a sharply rising sense that a structural maldistribution of wealth won't be corrected by the abolition of Jim Crow. An implicitly radical democratic communitarianism, projected correctly as both a means *and an end* of the movement, can still co-exist with a formless and rather annoyed liberalism because (a) the Peace People are obfuscating the Cold War without yet having become suspicious characters, and (b) the reform tide seems to be running, picking up velocity and mass, and has still to hit the breakwater. But there's a richness in the decentralist idioms of this period that has only been neglected, certainly not exhausted, or even barely tapped, in the intervening half decade of transition.

## 1965

Very quick, sharp changes, engineered in part by Johnson, in part by self-conscious growth within the movement.

\*The war abruptly becomes the leading issue for most white radicals. But not for community organizers, some of whom in fact are bitter about the new preoccupation. This is neither the first nor the last time that this sort of friction develops. What is its general form? A nationalist vs. an internationalist consciousness? It appears that some activists will always tend to visualize the American people mainly as victims, and others will tend to see them as criminal accomplices (passive or not) of the ruling class. This maybe points to an abiding problem for an advanced-nation socialist movement—a problem which will be neither understood nor solved simply by the Trotskyist slogan, "Bring the troops home."

\*The teach-ins and the SDS April March on Washington repeat in a compressed time scale the civil-rights movement's growth from Greensboro to Selma. It's in this very brief, very intense period that SDS projects an unabashedly reformist critique of the war, our naive attack on the domino theory being the best illustration of this: "But the other dominos won't fall," we insisted, happy to give such reassurance to the Empire.

\*SNCC formalizes its transformation from reform to revolution, first, by explicating the connection between racism and the war; and second, by focusing the metaphor

of Black Power, which clearly (at least to hindsight) implied the forthcoming ghetto-equals-colony analysis and the shift from an integrationist to a separatist-nationalist politics, which of course was to bring two problems for everyone it solved. This shift seems to have been necessitated by the impasse which integrationism confronted at Atlantic City the previous year.

\*What was the Atlantic City of the white student movement that was to go from pro-peace to anti-war, anti-war to pro-NLF, pro-NLF to anti-imperialist to pro-Third World revolution to anti-capitalism to pro-socialism—and thence, with much more confusion and uncertainty than this schedule implies, to anti-peace (i.e., no co-existence) and anti-democracy ("bourgeois jive"), and which finds itself at the present moment broken into two, three, many factions, each of which claims to have the *real* Lenin (or Mao or Che) in its pocket? Riddled with vanguarditis and galloping sectarianism, and possessed of a twisty hallucination called the "mass line" like an ancient virgin her incubus (or is it just a hot water bottle?) the Rudd-Jones-Ayers SDS is at least an SDS with a past. I'll say later what I think is wrong with the mass-line stance, but the point here is to understand that it didn't just come upon SDS out of nowhere, not even the nowhere of the PLP, and that in the end, whatever you think of it, it has to happen: (a) because there was no way to resist the truth of the war, no way, that is, to avoid imperialism; (b) because once the policy critique of the war had been supplanted by the structural critique of the empire, all political therapies short of socialist revolution appeared to become senseless; and (c) because the necessity of a revolutionary strategy was, in effect, the same thing as the necessity of Marxism-Leninism. *There was—and is—no other coherent, integrative, and explicit philosophy of revolution.*

I do not want to be misunderstood about this. The practical identity of Marxism-Leninism with revolutionary theory, in my estimate, does not mean that Marxism-Leninism is *also* identical with a genuinely revolutionary practice in the advanced countries. That identity, rather, constitutes nothing more than a tradition, a legacy, and a problem which I think the Left will have to overcome. But at the same time, I don't think the American Left's first stab at producing for itself a *fulfilled revolutionary consciousness* could have produced anything better, could have gone beyond this ancestor-worship politics. It was necessary to discover—or maybe the word is confess—that we had ancestors in the first place; and if for no brighter motive than gratitude at not being so alone and rootless, the discovery of the ancestors would naturally beget a religious mood. That of the revival tent, no doubt, but religious all the same.

Again: Why did the white student Left so quickly abandon its liberal or reformist criticism of the war as policy and substitute its radical criticism of the war as the result of an imperialist structure? The former seems to have had much to recommend it: simple, straightforward, full of pathos and even sentimentality, it has by this time been linked (by liberals) to a still more pathos-laden cry to bring



the boys back, and these two thrusts—*save our boys* and (incidentally) *their babies*—now make up the substance of the popular complaints against the war. (Harriman is now saying what we said about the war four years ago. What happened was that the student movement traded this *easy* argument against the war for a much harder one. Not that we rose as one man to denounce imperialism, of course. It was in October of that year that Paul Booth told the nation that SDS only wanted to “build, not burn.” But he got into a lot of trouble for his pains; and when about a month later, at the SANE-organized March on Washington, I used (without knowing it) all the paraphernalia of an anti-imperialist critique without once using the word “imperialism,” nobody objected, nobody said, “This line commits us to an attempt at revolution and therefore, true or not, should be rejected as being politically impracticable.”

Why did our movement *want* to be “revolutionary?” Very generally: An extrinsic failure of production (i.e., production turned *against* social reproduction) had already been intuited by that sector of the workers whose function is to *pacify the relations of production*. The most general means of this pacification is the neutralizing of the moral environment. This is what poets, political scientists, lit. teachers, sociologists, preachers, etc. are supposed to do. Deflect, divert, apologize, change the subject, prove either that our gods are virtuous and our direction right or that *no* gods are virtuous and *no* direction right and that rebellion ought therefore to forego history and take on the Cos-

mos. I think it can be shown that the practice of this essential work had already been jaopardized by the over-all character of production in the late '50s. Those whose role in production is to *explain* production, to provide it with its cover of rationality, had found it impossible to play their role *convincingly* simply because production had become extrinsically anti-social. Workers who cannot do their work rebel. They do so, furthermore, in the name of their work, in behalf of its possibility, and therefore in the name of that reordered system in which their work would again become possible.

The main point here is that 1965 was the year in which both the black and white sectors of the movement explicitly abandoned reformism and took up that long march whose destination, not even in sight yet, is a theory and practice of revolution for the United States. For the West.

## 1966-67

The rise of the resistance (in all its variety) and experiments with a “new-working-class” analysis, both motions strongly influenced by Greg Calvert and Carl Davidson. Superficially, these developments seemed to be congruent and intersupportive. But it looks to me now as if they were in fact opposite responses to the general problem of conceiving and realizing a revolutionary strategy, each one being a kind of political bet which the other one hedged. There was, I know, a lot of heavy theorizing about the politics of resistance, and I don’t want to turn a complex experience into a simple memory. Still, I think it’s fair to take the slogans as being indicative of its political atmosphere—“Not with my life, you don’t!” for example, or “A call to resist illegitimate authority.” Even if only in embryo, I think “resistance” was at bottom a youth-based anti-fascist front whose most central demand must have appeared to any outsider’s eye to be for a return to the *status quo ante*. That’s not to say that its organizers were not radicals or that its inner content was anti-socialist or non-socialist. But in basing itself on the individual’s rights of self-determination (mythical, of course: we were all hip to the con), and in trying to depict Johnson’s as an imposter (“illegitimate”) regime, the Resistance was easily as unassuming in its politics as it was extravagant in its imagination.

At the same time, Carl (“I Blush to Remember”) Davidson, among others, was trying to work out a new-working-class concept of the student rebellion, the main purpose being to discover in this rebellion that revolutionary power which one feared it might not have. Wanting revolution (with all that implies about the power to make one) but only having spasms of campus rebellion, the student syndicalists needed to show that at least the seed of the first found fertile ground in the latter.

Meanwhile: The method of political action which had been reintroduced in Harlem-’64 or Watts-’65 was on some terms perfected in Detroit-’67. All whites are convinced that something will have to be done, but nobody knows quite what to do. Except, of course, for the Right, which

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What happened at Columbia/Harlem in the April of '68 is just as important as what happened in Hay Market Square—but at the same time no more important.

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understood at once that was was needed was a metropolitan police force equipped both militarily *and politically* for urban counter-insurgency.

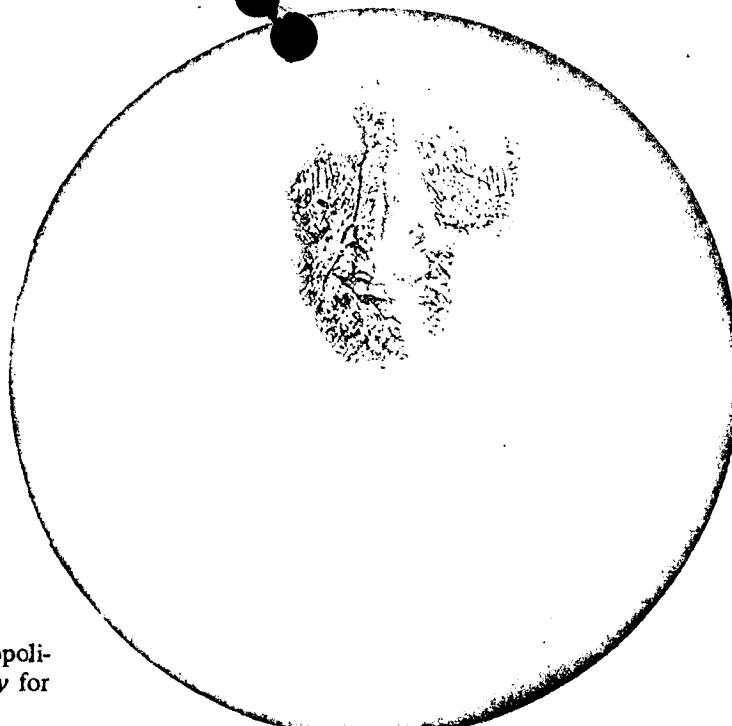
## 1968

Confidence reappeared with Columbia and France, and then took an important turn with Chicago.

*Columbia:* (1) Conclusively, students have severely limited but formidable power to intervene in certain processes of oppression and to compel certain institutional reforms. (2) A practical alliance between blacks and whites became a concrete fact for the first time since Selma. The campus continues to be the main current locus of this alliance. (I say this, obviously, in view of Columbia's subsequence: Columbia's innovations proved repeatable elsewhere.) (3) Production relations constitute the life of class economy; distribution relations constitute the life of class society; consumption relations constitute the life of class politics. The stormed or barricaded factory gate of classical revolutionary vision is not the definitive image of any "final" or "pure" proletarian consciousness. The struggle at the point of production, when it occurs, is merely one expression of a more general struggle which, much more often than not, is ignited and fed by consciousness of inequities of consumption.\*

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\*"In eighteenth-century England the manufacturing workers, miners, and others, were far more conscious of being exploited by the agrarian capitalists and middle-men, as consumers, than by their petty employers through wage-labour; and in this country [England] today consumer and cultural exploitation are quite as evident as is exploitation 'at the point of production' and perhaps are more likely to explode into political consciousness." E.P. Thompson, "The Peculiarities of the English," *The Socialist Register*, 1965 (London), Ralph Miliband and John Saville, eds., p. 355.



The worker comprehends the factory, in fact, as his means of consumption. It's in distribution patterns that the life styles of the class hierarchy are imposed; in the consumption patterns thus produced that the hierarchy of classes is most immediately *lived*. Production relations, as they are actually lived, are usually politically neutral: *the difference between an 8-hour day under U.S. capitalism and a 16-hour day under Cuban socialism is hardly to the former's advantage*. In fact, it's much more often a failure in the distributive or consumptive functions that creates political trouble for capitalism. How to finance further expansion? How to empty these bursting warehouses? And it could even be argued that as between the ghetto rising and the militant strike in heavy industry, the former is closer to that famous "seizure of State power" than the latter is. But why try to choose at all? We are dealing here only with aspects of a unitary complex, not with elements of a compound, and the tendencies of a method of analysis to reproduce reality as a set of correlative abstractions should never be permitted to reduce aspects of a continuous social process to the elements of its model. What happened at Columbia/Harlem in the spring of '68 is just as important, just as pregnant and portentious, as what happened in Haymarket Square—but at the same time, *no more important either*. We have littered contemporary American history with a hundred aspiring preludes whose aggregate *current* meaning is precisely the fight for the last word about their meaning, but whose future denouement is not yet revealed to us. To make the point still more explicit: There is no such thing as a model revolution (or even if you think you have found such a thing in *la Revolution française*, note that it materialized considerably in advance of the theory that hailed it as such), and there is no revolutionary theory



by means of which right and wrong sites of organization and agitation can be discriminated. The function of analysis is to clarify reality, not to pass judgment on it.

A few other points about Columbia: (4) "Co-optation" is obviously a useful concept. It warns you against being hoodwinked by those who've learned to smile and smile and still be villains. Unfortunately, just beyond that point at which it remains useful, it flops over completely and becomes disastrous: it can become a no-win concept masquerading either as tactical cunning or strategic wisdom. It instructs people to reject what their fight has made possible on the grounds that it falls short of what they wanted. If the Left allows its provisional victories to be reaped by the Center-Left, trust that those victories will very promptly be turned into most unprovisional setbacks. Am I saying that we should sometimes have people "working within the system's institutions?" Precisely, emphatically, and without the slightest hesitation! You are co-opted when the adversary puts his goals on your power; you are *not* co-opted when your power allows you to exploit his means (or contradictions) in behalf of your goals.

(5) The SF State strike retrospectively clarified one difficulty, maybe a shortcoming, of the Columbia strike. Other BSU-SDS-type eruptions suffered from the same lapse. Namely: *We very badly need a clear, sharp formulation of the white interest in overcoming racism.* All of us feel that this "white-skin-privilege"—if it is even a privilege at all—costs us something, and that the cost exceeds the gain. Yet we've had difficulty making it clear why we feel this way, and for the most part in the hurry of the moment have simply had to abandon the attempt, opting either for a purely moralistic explanation (which has meant

that the white base of the strike is not represented in the strike leadership committee) or for the adding on of "white demands" (which tended to obscure the specifically anti-racist character of the action). Neither approach is any good. It is wrong for the base of the movement, any action, not to have a voice in tactical and strategic policy—witness, for one thing, the general bewilderment of the white SF State students who, when the strike was over, had little to do but return to business-as-usual classrooms. It is also wrong, or at least not quite right, for whites to demand "open admissions for all working-class youth" at the same time that the same whites are (a) trying to help make a point about the *racist* nature of colleges, and (b) attacking the *content* of the basic college education on the grounds that it's a brainwash. The German SDS idea of the critical university, somehow adapted to our particular political objectives, might break through the current dilemma at the level of program. But especially since the dilemma may shortly materialize in noncampus settings, it's first necessary to break it at a theoretical or general level. Why does racism hurt whites? Or *which* whites does it hurt, and why and how?

*France, the May Days:* "The revolt of the students is the revolt of the forces of modern production as a whole," writes Andre Glucksmann, a leading theoretician of the March 22 Movement. This intriguing formulation, like all new-working-class theorizing, is at bottom nothing but an attempt to find a new face for the old Leninist mask: Only "workers" can make 20th Century revolutions, so those who are creating a big revolution-sized fuss, even if they come outfitted with a few electrifying Sartrean neologisms, must therefore be some new kind of workers. I think this

souped-up "New Left" scholarship is worse than the Old Orthodoxy. Any common-sense reading of the Glucksmann map would lead the revolution-watcher straight to the faculties of administration, technology and applied sciences, since it's within the meanings of the New Technology that these "forces of modern production as a whole" are being visualized. Maybe at Nanterre, where the fuse was lit. But certainly not at the Sorbonne or anywhere else in Paris, where the student base of the revolt, just as in the United States, came out of the faculties of liberal arts and the social sciences. Quite contrary to Glucksmann, the revolt of the students is the revolt *against* the forces of modern production as a whole—a fact which would doubtless be apparent to everyone if it weren't for the intellectual tyranny of Marxism-Leninism.

The more tradition-minded Leftists scarcely did any better with this out-of-nowhere avalanche. Not for one moment having imagined it was about to happen, insisting on the contrary that nothing like it ever *could* happen, and having finally satisfied themselves that all their curses and spells couldn't make it go away, the Old Crowd FCP determined to see in this Almost-Revolution a conclusive vindication of their theories, practices and political rheumatism all combined. "Behold, Lenin lives!" cried the Stalinists of France, even as they bent their every effort to killing him again.

The main fact about the Almost-Revolution is that it was *almost* a revolution, not that it was almost a *revolution*. As parched for victories as the Western Left has been in the post-war period, it may be forgiven its ecstasy at scoring a few runs. But what are we left with? No questions, Pompidou is not the only or the main or even a very important result of the May Days; as a minimum, the feudalism of the French academy has been jolted, and maybe it's still a big deal in the 7th decade of the 20th century to give academic feudalism a jolt. But it seems to me that all the lessons people are claiming to have learned are not lessons at all, only so many brute-force misreadings of the event. To claim that the student *foco* was a worker "detonator" is to dodge the awful question of the vanguard, not to face it and overcome it, and besides that, it tortures a meaning into "student" that has nothing to do with the students' evident meanings. On the other hand, the claim that the old problem of the "worker-student alliance" has found here the possibility of its solution seems to me the very opposite of what the facts indicate: Under propitious, even ideal circumstances, with the State isolated and virtually dumb before the crisis, with DeGaulle offering nothing more spiritual than an old man's resentment or more concrete than a diluted form of the students' program, with the army out-flanked politically and the police widely disgraced, with production mired in fiscal doldrums, the industrial workforce caught with a deep unease and its bureaucratized leadership dozing, it still proved hard for students and young workers to make contact, and (so it now seems) all but impossible for them to forge a lasting and organic revolutionary union.

It seems to me that the following are more defensible

"lessons."

1. No key Western European nation (Britain, France, Germany, Italy) can slide hard to the Left unless a Warsaw Pact nation can also slide equally hard to the right. France and Czechoslovakia constitute the gigue and the saraband of an unfinished political suite.

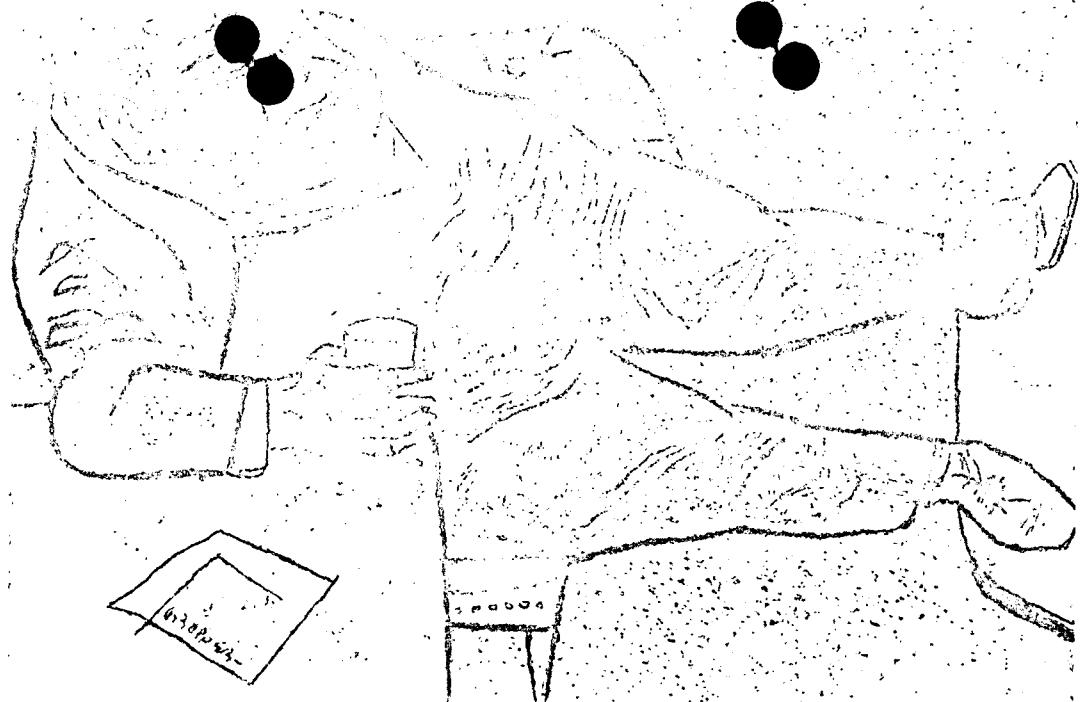
2. We're in a period in which, for the first time in modern history, the social base of a truly post-industrial socialism is being produced, delta-like, outside capitalism's institutional reach. (That is, a socialism which rejects capitalism because of its successes instead of its failures, and which comes into existence in order to supersede and surpass industrial society, not to create it.) But for long time within the capitalist state, and for much longer within the capitalist empires, this new base will co-exist with the old: that which wants to go beyond will co-exist with that which needs to come abreast. This constitutes the protractedly *transitional* nature of the current period, a source both of confusion and opportunity within the world Left community, and above all a problem which the advanced-nation Left will have to solve by means of a post-Leninist theory and a post-Leninist practice.

*Chicago:* (1) Liberalism has no power in this country. It is not politically organized. The few secondary institutions in which it lives its hand-to-mouth existence are, at best, nothing more than insecure and defenseless sanctuaries. In none of the estates—not the church, not the media, not the schools—does it exhibit the least aggressiveness, the least staying power, the least confidence. *This country, in the current situation, is absolutely impotent before the threat of what Fulbright has lately called "elective fascism"*

I'll admit that this discovery surprised me. I had thought that the liberals had a little crunch left. McCarthy had always obviously been an iccube in an oven; but even deprived of Kennedy, I had supposed that the liberals would have been able to drive a few more bargains. They were helpless at Chicago, and their helplessness has only deepened since then. (Observe the sorry spectacle of Yankedom's main gunslingers, Harriman, Vance, and Clifford, vainly trying to ambush Nixon, who knows and imperturbably defeats their every confused move.)

For the very simple truth about Chicago is that Daley got away with it, and there was nothing anybody could do. What "Big Contributor" dropped a word to the wise against him? What "Key Party High-up" moved even to censure him behind the scenes or slow him down? The *institutional mass* of the society is either neutralized or passively or actively supportive of reaction, and reaction can go, quite simply, as far as it determines it needs to go. Screaming their heads off at both the infant Left and the entrenched Right, liberals have neither base nor privilege, neither an organized following nor access to the levers of power. This is important.

(2) If only because it sharpens the melodrama, we may as well pinpoint Chicago, August, as the place and time of the "mass line's" formal debut: an unforgettable lit-up



Courtesy of Associated American Artists

Chicago occasioned these two terminal movements; the humiliation of liberalism and the "official" reversion of SDS to a Marxist-Leninist worldview.

nighttime scene, Mike Klonsky taking the bullhorn at Grant Park to harangue the assembly about its "reformist" policies.

I've already indicated that I see nothing promising in *any* version of Marxism-Leninism—not PL's, not that of the now-defunct "national collective" of the Klonsky-Coleman period or of its apparent successor, the Revolutionary Union, and not that of the more diffuse and momentarily hazier grouping, the Revolutionary Youth Movement. But of course I don't claim that a mere statement of this view constitutes either an explanation of it or an argument for it. The argument will have to be made, very carefully, in another place, and I have to confine myself here to the observation that any revolutionary movement will all but inevitably adapt itself to Marxism-Leninism—or the other way around—because there is just no other totalizing philosophy of revolution. This philosophy then enables a representation of reality in something like the following general terms: "A desire in pursuit of its means, a means in flight from its destiny—these conditions constitute The Problem. Solution: tomorrow, when history's preplanted timebomb at last goes off, blasting false consciousness away, the words of the prophets will be fulfilled."

Chicago, in any case, occasioned these two terminal moments: the humiliation of liberalism, and the "official" reversion of SDS to a Marxist-Leninist worldview.

1969

The leading events so far: The SF State strike and the structurally similar conflicts that erupted across the coun-

try, the People's Park showdown in June, the SDS convention, and the Black Panther call for the Oakland conference.

*San Francisco State:* I want to make just two observations on this much-studied event.

First, the movement's characteristic attitude toward partial victories—more particularly, toward what is disparaged as "student power"—is mechanistic. It appears that every change which is not yet The Revolution is either to be airily written off as no change at all, or further than that, to be denounced as co-optation into the counter-revolution. People should only try to remember that the SF State strike did not materialize out of thin air, that it had a background, that it was that particular moment's culmination of a long conflictual process, and that just as with Columbia, where political work had been sustained at a generally intense level at least since May 1965, the explosive strike at State was made possible, maybe even necessary, by a long series of small moves forward, any one of which could have been attacked as "bourgeois liberal reform." More precisely, it was in large part those incremental "reforms" of curriculum and student-teacher and teacher-administration relationships carried out under the unseeing eyes of President Summerskill that created the general conditions in which the strike could take place. As with Columbia, the atmosphere had long been thoroughly politicized—that is to say, charged with consciousness of national issues. And a long reign of liberalism had, in effect, already *legitimated* the demands around which the strike was fought through, just as a long reign of reformism had created the institutional means of the strike. In the

same way, the fact that the Third World Liberation Front leadership did after all negotiate the "nonnegotiable" demands, the further fact that this leadership then moved to *consolidate these bargaining-table victories within the changing structure of the institution itself*—this meant not that the fight was over, not at all that "capitalism" had suffered a tactical defeat only to secure a strategic victory, but rather that the stage was—and is—being set for another round of conflict at a still higher level of consciousness within a still wider circle of social involvement: For the net result of the strike's victories is still further to break down the psychological, social, and political walls that had formerly sealed off the academy from the community. This is a big part of what we are about—the levelling of all these towers, the redistribution of all this ivory, the extroversion of these sublimely introverted corporate monstrosities: and not just because we have willed it, whether out of malice or chagrin or a blazing sense of justice, but rather because capital itself, in all its imperial majesty, has invested these schools with its own trembling contradictions. Necessarily demanding a mass consciousness of and for its technological and political ambitions, it necessarily produces a mass consciousness of the servility of the first and the brutality of the second. Necessarily demanding an army of social managers, pacifiers of the labor force, it necessarily produces an army of social problem solvers, agitators of that same labor force. Necessarily demanding an increasingly sophisticated corps of servicemen to the empire, it necessarily produces a cosmopolitanism to which this empire's shame is its most conspicuous feature. Necessarily demanding a priesthood to bless its work in the stolen name of humanity, it necessarily produces the moral and social weaponry of its own political condemnation.

We play upon these stops. Not able to arrest this process, as Reagan wants, nor to let it go forward, as the liberals want, doomed to be blind in either this eye or the other, not able to prosper without teaching us to serve it, not able to teach us to serve without somehow teaching us also its inner secrets, not able to teach us those secrets without teaching us to despise it, capitalism in our time is forced upon—*forces upon itself*—a choice of mortalities. Either to continue that process whose most general form is simply total urbanization, with its attendant destruction of all the disciplinary taboos, of the family, of political religion, of nationalism, of property and the ethics of property, of individualism and the entrepreneurial style; or to try to reverse that process, in which case it destroys its fragile equilibrium, destroys the social base and dynamic of production and growth, puts on the airbrakes and turns off its engines in midflight. If it makes the first choice, it bursts like an egg: *social control over the means of education is necessarily only the prologue to social control of the means of production, distribution, and consumption*. If it makes the second choice, if it tries to freeze everything, then the living thing, the life inside the egg, dies out; a moment more, the shell collapses: *Already a fascism in its colonies*, the empire is obliged nevertheless to hold its

fascism at a distance; and when protracted "wars of liberation," wherever they happen (ghettos, campuses) and whatever unpredicted form they take (e.g., Peru!), succeed in driving this frontier fascism back upon its metropolitan front, then the whole political and social basis of the empire begins to fragment and dissolve. For a stable empire can be military only in its means, not in its ends—its ends necessarily being a mode of production, distribution, and consumption; and the servicing of these ends ultimately requires exactly that metropolitan class *hegemony* (all classes passively accepting or even affirming the rule of the dominant class, the class hierarchy having therefore the firm structure of vertical consent) which fascism supplants with class *coercion*.\*

One brief aside on a related matter: When I first met white New Leftists about five years ago, their most common fear was that they were not a serious threat. Along with this went the equally common belief that their seriousness would be proved only if they were vigorously attacked. (The current expression of this is the general view that the "vanguard" is whoever is being most vigorously attacked: it is not the people who pick their leaders, but the State.) No one suggested that the Other Side might be holding less than a fistful of aces, that the adversary was not super smart, that he might be stymied by his own contradictions. Maybe it was my background that made me skeptical—grandson of the south's Last Peasant Patriarch, son of a first-generation migrant from a defeated rural economy to the industrial revolution (Akron: smoke, tires, factories, timeclocks, the permanently present memory of the "home" which you had abandoned in spite of all wishes and had thereby, despite yourself, helped destroy, and which you could never go back to again no matter how many rides you took those seven hundred miles on hot jampacked Greyhound buses that, once below Marietta, stopped every other mile to pick up or let off still another coming or going hillbilly, suitcase in one hand, baby in the other, eyes shot from whiskey and incomprehension. . . . Another time I must deal with this). I had thought that there was precious little need to go out of your way to provoke those distant people who worked on Mahogany Row, lived in the mansions of Fairlawn, and owned all the cops and politicians. If the vague people of the vague middle were ignorant of how power worked and who had it and who did not, we who lived just at the edge of the black ghetto and whose lives were ordered by the vicissitudes of production—cutbacks, layoffs, specups, doubles, strikes—were under no illusions. We knew their viciousness because man, woman and child we had it for constant companion. My mind was blown, its gears stripped, to hear someone say that the gift of authenticity was the Man's to give, that it came in the form of clubbings and

\*If the biography of German Nazism seems to contradict this thesis, recall that Junker coercion was finally translated into the hegemony of the State itself not mainly because of risings in the colonies, but because of pressure from rival imperialisms dating back at least to the First World War.

jailings, and that, left unprovoked, he might withhold it. Not so: pursue your aims with stark simplicity and in all peaceableness, put money in thy purse with the politest and gentlest of smiles--trust him, he'll get around to making you pay, and anybody who does not know this just hasn't been paying attention.

So. That's the first "observation"--the winning of a "reform" isn't always a bad business, and Leftists should stop being scared of being reformed out of things to do. The only real strategic necessity is to make sure the reform in question reforms the power configuration so that it becomes the basis for further and still more fundamental challenges to class rule.

The second observation is connected. It has to do with the question of what's called (disparagingly) "student power." The formula attack on the making of demands for such things as curriculum reform and greater student participation in campus government goes like this: "The young bourgeois, privileged already, exhibits here only his desire to extend his privileges still further. This desire must be fought by radicals. If not exactly in the *name* of the working class, we must see ourselves as fighting at least in its *behalf*, and since its interests are hardly served by the abolition of grades or the reduction of required credits, we must oppose such demands."

First, the outlines of a speculation. What if the multiversity is in some substantial part the creation of the advanced-world proletariat—not merely the plaything and mistress of the imperialists? What if it is partly in the multiversity that the proletariat has banked and stored up its enormous achievements in technology? What if the multiversity—the highest realization yet of the idea of mass education and the rationalization of productive labor—is in one of its leading aspects the institutional form through which the proletariat continues its struggle for emancipation? Behind how many of these so-called "bourgeois" children, one or two generations back, stands a father in a blue collar, a mother in an apron? The proletariat, says Marx, will have to prepare itself for self-government through protracted struggle. What if this struggle is so protracted that it actually must be seen as taking place, in one of its aspects at least, across *generations*? The revolutionary aspiration of whites in the 1930's manifested itself most sharply in factory struggles. In the 1960's, that aspiration has materialized most sharply on the campuses. What have we made of this fact? The function of a method of social analysis is not to reprimand reality for diverging from its model, but on the contrary to discover in reality the links and conjunctures that make history intelligible and life accessible to effective action. An abstraction is not something to stand behind like a pulpit but a lens to see through more discerningly. Obvious? Then it is high time to confess: At the same time that it has been trying so desperately to live forwards, the New Left everywhere, in West Europe as well as here, has been just as desperately trying to think backwards. If Marxism is *any* good, and if we can prove it worthy of the moment, then we ought to be able to say what it is about contemporary relations of

production that make the campuses a primary site of contemporary revolutionary motion. Only when that question is answered will we have any right to pontificate about "correct" and "incorrect" lines, and it has not yet been answered. Meanwhile, even if it is good and sufficient, as I am almost sure it is not, to characterize "student power" as a fight for "bourgeois privilege," we would still have to ask: What *kind* of privilege? Assuming that there is nothing here at all but an intra-class struggle against the contemptuous indifference of institutions, against the mindless blather of the dons, the deans, the sycophants and the liars, against authority in particular and authoritarianism on principle, we would still have to say that the political balance of this struggle is *progressive and portentous*. To those who tell me that this fight neither equals, approximates, initiates, nor reveals the form of The Revolution Itself, I answer first, Neither did Nanterre, neither did Watts, neither did anything else in man's social history but a bare handful of uniquely definitive and epochal convulsions, each one of which moreover appeared only at the end of a painfully long train of indeterminate events which escaped their ambiguity only thanks to the *denouement*; and I answer second, If you are trying to tell me you know already what The Revolution Itself will look like, you are either a charlatan or a fool. *We have no scenario.*

Second, for what it's worth to a movement suddenly infatuated with the words of the prophets, Lenin faced a somewhat similar question in 1908 when certain radicals refused to support an all-Russia student strike on the grounds that "the platform of the strike is an academic one" which "cannot unite the students for an active struggle on a broad front." Lenin objected: "Such an argument is radically wrong. The revolutionary slogan—to work towards coordinated political action of the students and the proletariat—here ceases to be a live guidance for many-sided militant agitation on a broadening base and becomes a lifeless dogma, mechanically applied to different stages of different forms of the movement." Further: "For this youth, a strike on a large scale . . . is the beginning of a political conflict, whether those engaged in the fight realize it or not. Our job is to explain to the mass of 'academic' protesters the objective meaning of the conflict, to try and make it *consciously political*."

*The People's Park:* Those few SDSers, unfortunately conspicuous this past year, who think Stalinism is more or less right on, ought at least to have admitted that "socialism in one country" is not exactly the logical antithesis of "socialism in one park." But it was the Stalinists, both pure and off-breed, who among all the Bay Area radicals found it hardest to relate to the park before the attacks, were most puzzled by the attack itself, and produced the most opportunistic "support" in the aftermath. Mainly because these curious rumbles of the hip are so hard to focus politically in terms of a mass-and-vanguard model, it's hard for people with old minds to figure out how to relate to them. That fact may be the basis of a touching epitaph; but a living politics for our period will have to understand that "decadence" is as "decadence" does, that the "cultural

“revolution” is not merely a clever and self-serving substitute for the “political” one, but that if the West has, indeed, a leftwards destiny, then neither its particular ends nor its modes of organization and action will be discovered through archeology. My guess: People’s Park was one among many episodes of a religious revival movement—exactly the kind of movement that has heralded every major social convulsion in the United States—and as with all such movements, its ulterior target, its enemy, is the forces of the industrialization of culture. The difference now is that the virtual consummation of the Industrial Revolution, *within the West*, lends a credibility and relevance to such a program that it formerly has not had. That is: The anti-industrialism of early radicals like Blake and Cobbett, though it was fully anti-capitalist, could confront rampant capitalist industrial progress with nothing more powerful than a retiring, improbably, defenseless nostalgia; could argue against the system of “masters and slaves” only in behalf of the older and no doubt mythical system, allegedly medieval, of “masters and men.” Every time it became a *practical* movement—whether revolutionary or reformist—socialism had to put forward simply a more rational version of the program of industrialization itself. This is not an irony or tragedy of history, it’s just the dialectics of historical process. That it has so far been unsurpassable is in fact the essence of revolutionary socialism’s general isolation to the backwards countries, or put differently, this limit merely expresses the wedding of revolutionary socialism to anti-colonialism, and on the other hand, its impotence in countries in which the industrialization process has been carried forward effectively (however ruthlessly) by the bourgeoisie. The thesis of People’s Park, rough as it may be to deal with both in terms of our tradition and our current practical needs, is that the essentially *post-industrial* revolution, embodied most fully but

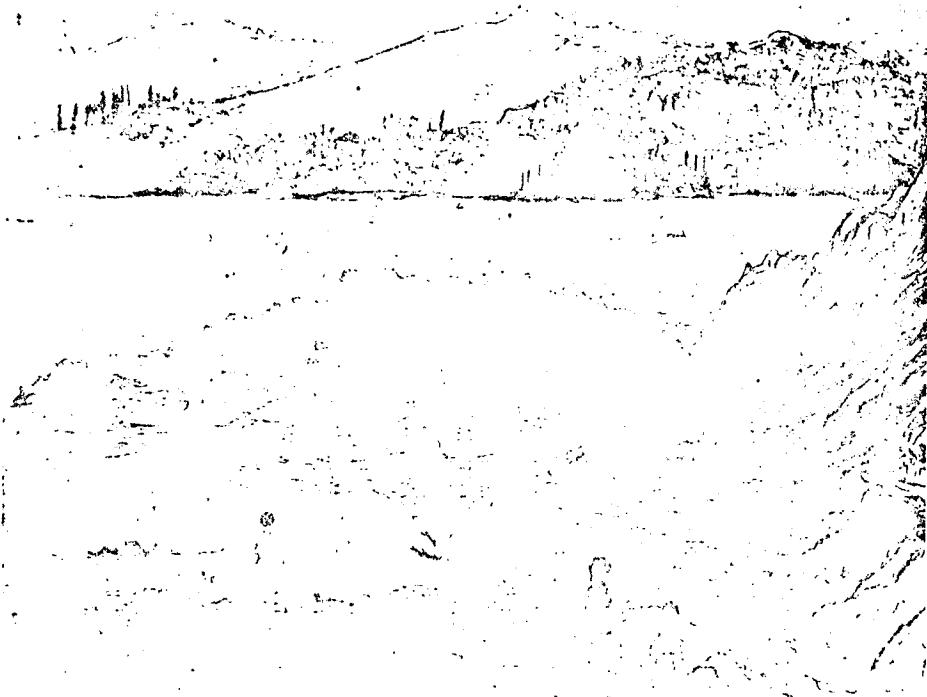
still (we must suppose) very incompletely in the hip communities, portends the historically most advanced development for socialist consciousness.

“Most fully” because it goes beyond industrialization, and in doing so, implies (much more than it has so far realized) a genuinely New Man—just as new compared to Industrial Man as Industrial Man was new in comparison to the artisans and small farmers who foreran him.

But it would be useless just to approve of this cultural revolution without being very clear about its terrible limits. I see two limits. First: The “new values” (they are, of course, very old) can claim to be subversive only of the standing values of work, but not really of consumption, there being nothing in the structure and precious little in the texture of “hip leisure” that keeps it from being commercially copied (deflated) and packaged. Thus, in effect, the target of the attack detaches itself, refuses to defend itself, and in offering itself as the apparent *medium* of the attack is able (persuasively to all but the sharpest consciousness) to pose as the “revolution’s” friend. There are a thousand examples of this process, whose minimum result is vastly to complicate the cultural critique, and which at the other limit succeeds wholly in disarming it. The quietism of which the hip community is often accused may thus be much less the result of a principled retreat to cosmology than of its flat inability to confront commercialism with a deeply nonnegotiable demand.

Second, even though the new anarchism is morally cosmopolitan—affirming in a rudimentary political way the essential oneness of the human community—its values are *practical* only within the Western (imperialist) cities, and are far from being universally practical even there. So the second and bigger problem the cultural revolution needs to overcome is its lack of a concrete means of realizing its

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ideal sympathy with those globally real revolutionary movements whose social program necessarily centers around the need for industrialization, not the surpassing of it. A solution of this problem would no doubt also solve the first. This is why it's so important to subject the cultural revolution to a much more profound and critical analysis than what has been produced so far. For the point at the moment is not to be for or against the current reappearance of anarchism. It will be necessary rather to explicate its tradition (too many hippies think they are saying brand new things) and then to try to see if the balance of forces has changed sufficiently that this old movement for a cultural revolution against industrial society has begun to acquire a power which it formerly has not had.

*The SDS Convention:* I wasn't there, never mind why. At the last SDS thing I was at, the Austin NC, the handwriting was already on the wall. Having determined that SDS must become explicitly and organizationally committed to its version of Marxism-Leninism, PL would continue in its Trotskyist way of identifying organizations with movements and would try to win more power in SDS—that much was already clear in the spring. I didn't think, though, that PL people would force a split. As fiercely indifferent to this country's general culture as they seem to be, I still thought they would understand a split as contrary to their purposes and would therefore seek to avoid it, even if that meant a momentary tactical retreat. Either I was wrong, or PL misunderstood—and misplayed—the situation.

I want to make just one point about the current situation. What is wrong about PL is not its rigidity, its "style," its arrogance or anything like that. Its *ideology* is wrong. And not just in the particulars of emphasis or interpretation or application, but in its most fundamental assumptions about the historical process. Someone else may argue that PL's Marxism-Leninism is a bad Marxism-Leninism, and that is a view which can doubtless be defended. But I see no prosperity in the approach that merely wants to save Leninism from Milt Rosen here and Jared Israel there. The problem is deeper and the task much more demanding. It can be posed this way: Backwards as it is, our practice is more advanced than our theory, and our theory therefore becomes an obstacle to our practice—which is childish and schematic, not free and real enough. The general adoption of some kind of Marxism-Leninism by all vocal factions in SDS means, certainly, that a long moment of intellectual suspense has been resolved—but much less in response to experience than to the pressure of the *tradition*. We have not produced even a general geosocial map of the United States as a society—only as an empire. We have not sought in the concrete historical experience of classes a rigorous explanation of their acceptance of "cross-class" (Cold War) unity but rather have employed a grossly simplified base-and-superstructure model to explain away the fact that labor

does not appear to think what we think it ought to think. We have taken a class to be a thing, not a process (or as E.P. Thompson called it five years ago, "a happening"), and have imagined it to be bound, more or less, to behave according to the "scientific laws" which govern the category. Most generally, we have imported a very loose and sometimes garbled theory of pre-industrial revolution, have tightened it without really clarifying it, and are now in the process of trying to superimpose that theory, thus reduced, on our own very different situation. The RYM group does not differ in this respect from PL, the Revolutionary Union, or even YSA or ISC. All these groups, opportunistic in widely varying degrees, claim to have the same ace in the hole, and Lenin's phrases (or what's worse, the Chairman's truistic maxims) are gnawed upon by every tooth.

For a long time I was baffled. Last fall the word began to reach me: It was being said that I had "bad politics." How could *that* be, I wondered, since I thought I had no politics at all. But by winter I conceded the point: no politics is the same as bad politics. So there followed a time in which I experimented with only the "mass line." Could Klonsky and Coleman be right? It didn't come to much. My mind and my instincts only became adversaries. By spring I had to deactivate, couldn't function, had to float. What I know now is that this did not happen to me alone. On every quarter of the white Left, high and low, the attempt to reduce the New Left's inchoate vision to the Old Left's perfected remembrance has produced a layer of bewilderment and demoralization which no cop with his club or senator with his committee could ever have induced. And my view of the split at the convention is that it merely caps a series of changes which began at the East Lansing convention in 1968, with the decision to counter PL's move on SDS by means of a political form—the "SDS caucus," i.e., a countervailing faction—which accepted implicitly PL's equation of the social movement with the organizations that arise within it. What walked out of the Coliseum was simply a larger version of 1968's SDS caucus. Certainly it had grown in awareness and self-definition over the year; and knowing that bare opposition to PL is no very impressive gift to The Revolution, it had spurred itself to produce an independent Marxist-Leninist analysis and at least the semblance of a program. My unhappy wager is that even in its RYM incarnation it remains a faction, that it will continue last year's practice of "struggling sharply" against internal heresies, that it will remain in the vice of the old illusions, that it will pay as little attention to what is happening in the country and the world as its predecessor regime did, and that whatever growth the movement achieves will be inspite of its rally cries and with indifference to its strictures. Nor is there a lot that can be done about this. The Western Left is perhaps in the midphase of a long, deep transition, and there is no way for SDS to protect itself from the consequences. They will have to be lived out. Which does not mean there is nothing to do. It means, rather, that any new initiatives will confront a situation very heavily laden with obstacles and limits. It isn't 1963 anymore.

*The Panther Convention:* hasn't happened yet as I write, and I have no idea what's outcome will be. But certain doubts still need to be aired.

What's good about the Panthers has been amply hailed in the white Left: The Panthers have, in effect, done for the black lumpen of the northern urban ghetto what SNCC, years ago, did for the black serfs of the rural south—individual despair, given a historical interpretation, is turned into collective political anger. To the alternatives of atomism, crime, and psychosis, SNCC in the country and the Panthers in the town have added the idea of revolution—ant-racist, internationalist, and socialist.

But taken all in all—and for forcing historical reasons this is truer of the Panthers than of SNCC of 1960-64—this consciousness is a Word without Flesh, and that's what's got the Panthers trapped in a blind alley from which the only exits are either martyrdom or the “anti-fascist” popular front which it is the apparent purpose of the July convention to organize. To put it another way: The Panthers did not *organize* the ghetto, they only apostrophized it. So far as I know, the breakfast-for-children program represents the only serious attempt to relate concretely, practically, broadly, and *institutionally* to the black urban community as a whole. And it is very much to the point that the Panthers have recently promoted the breakfast program as their most characteristic political act—at approximately the same moment that the super-militants are purged, the public making of fierce faces greatly cooled, and the gun no longer presented as the leading symbol of Panther intentions.

This is all to the good, but it should have happened long ago. There ought to be dozens of programs like the breakfasts. Nothing else, in fact, gives stature, credibility, and social meaning to the gun; for the ghetto, as such, neither can be nor should be defended. Only when that ghetto is being transformed, de-ghettoized, by the self-organized activity of the people does its militant self-defense become a real *political* possibility. I'm not saying that social organization must always precede combat organization. If ghetto blacks were like the sugar proletariat of pre-revolutionary rural Cuba, and if the police were like Cuba's rural guard, then the opposite would likely be true. Even so, even if there is a proper analogy to the July 26 Movement, what would follow if not the obligation not merely to challenge the police, not merely to engage militarily and escape alive, but in fact to *defeat* the police, to prove to the people that the tyranny cannot impose its will on the countryside by force? The essence of J-26 politics lies in its valid presupposition of a popular will for social revolution and in its insight that it was mainly their common-sensical skepticism about overcoming the state military machine that held the people back.

With all respect for Cuba and the ardor of black American militants, I fail to see in the caste ghetto of an industrial city anything like a political replica of the countryside of a one-crop colony. The presence in the ghetto of the political gun meant a great many worthwhile, even invaluable things. But crucial as it is, “Free Huey!” is

not by itself a social program or a revolutionary slogan. The irony is that nothing but a real social program, and the expanding base of involved, active, and conscious people such a program alone could produce, would ever make Huey Newton's liberation even thinkable, never mind the means.

“But of course this has all been seen by now.” Has it? The current Panther move to establish a white base of support does not persuade me that it has been *understood*. *The Panthers are in trouble not because they have no white support, but because they have too little black support; not because they have no white allies, but because, in the virtual absence of a wide array of real activities, real social programs in the black communities, there is nearly nothing that white allies can do besides pass resolutions, send lawyers, and raise bail.*

SDS will have to take its share of the blame for this. Much more interested in shining with the borrowed light of Panther charisma than in asking all the hard practical questions, much more interested in laying out the metaphysical maxims that identify the “vanguard” than in assuming real political responsibility, this SDS, which so often chews its own tongue for being “petty bourgeois,” most shamefully confesses its origins precisely when it tries so vainly to transcend them in worship of “solidarity” which really amounts to so much hero-worship. Bourgeois is as bourgeois does. Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Mao, Chou, Ho, Giap, Fidel, Che, Fanon: which one plowed a furrow, ran a punchpress, grew up hungry? That, in the first place, ought to be that. Further, in the second place, it is not lost causes, however heroic, or martyrs, however fine, that our movement needs. It needs shrewd politicians and concrete social programs. Not theoretical (really theological) proofs that The People Will Win in the End, but tangible social achievements now. Not the defiance of a small, isolated band of supercharged cadre who, knowing they stand shoulder to shoulder with mankind itself, will face repression with the inner peace of early Christians, but a mounting fugue of attacks on political crime of all sorts, on all fronts, at all levels of aspiration, from all sectors and classes of the population, so that repression can never rest, never find a fixed or predictable target. Humble example: Yesterday's *New York Times* carries a full-page political ad—the American Institute of Architects, it seems, has come out against the war. What will the Panther or the SDS national office do? Send a wire? Make a phone call? Investigate the possibility of a combined action? Try to make two or three new friends in order to make a hundred or a thousand later. I guess not. For the AIA is as *bourgeois* as they come, awfully *liberal*, too. When even the Oakland 7 and the Chicago 8 are suspect, what chance does a lot of architects have? So the architects will never hear what we have to say about the empire, about the houses that are being built in Cuba, about what we take to be the extent and causes of the present world crisis.

But this loss is presumably compensated by our clarity about the “vanguard.” Clarity! Any close reading of the RYM's Weatherman statement will drive you blind. Some-

times the vanguard is the black ghetto community, sometimes only the Panthers, sometimes the Third World as a whole, sometimes only the Vietnamese, and sometimes apparently only the Lao Dong Party. Sometimes it is a curiously Hegelian concept, referring vaguely to all earthly manifestations of the spirit of revolution. At still other times, it seems to be the fateful organ of that radicalized industrial proletariat (USA) which has yet to make its Cold War-era debut. Mostly, though, it's the poor Panthers, whose want of politics was never challenged by the few SDSers who had access to their leaders; this appointment—Vanguard to the People's Revolution—being, presumably, SDS's to make—and one which is defended, moreover, in terms of a so-called revolutionary strategy (see the Weatherman statement) in which the United States is to experience not a social revolution at the hands of its own people, but a military defeat at the hands of twenty, thirty, many Vietnams—plus a few Detroits.

But perhaps the ghetto=colony analysis means that the Detroits are already included in the category of Vietnams? In that case, for all real political purposes, (North) American=white; and the historic role of these whites, their "mission" in the many-sided fight for socialism, is most basically just to be overcome. The authors of the Weatherman statement are of course perfectly right in trying to integrate what may appear to be *decisive* international factors into a model scenario of domestic change. From no viewpoint can an empire be treated as if it were a nation state. But although they face this problem, they do not overcome it. They might have said that the leading aspect of the US industrial proletariat remains, classically, its exploitation at the hands of US capital, and that it therefore still embodies a momentarily stifled revolutionary potential. Contrarily, they might have said that what we

have here is a gigantic "labor aristocracy who are quite philistine in their mode of life, in the size of their earnings and in their outlook... [and who are] real channels of reformism and chauvinism" (Lenin, *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*). On its face, neither view is silly, but neither is one more satisfactory than the other. Weatherman's refusal to settle for one or the other seems to me to express a realistic *intuition*; but the problem is not solved simply by asserting one theory here and the other theory there. They cannot both be equally valid. I think the difficulty is embedded in the method of analysis: Weatherman takes class to be a thing rather than a process, and consequently tries to treat class as if it were, in and of itself, a *definite political category*. (That is, labor is fated to be Left.) But Weatherman also has a certain level of historical realism, and this realism always intervenes (happily) to obstruct the mostly theoretical impulse—a kind of social Freudianism—to idealize labor, to strip it of its historical "neurosis" by the simple and fraudulent expedient of viewing its neurosis as *merely* superstructural. In other words, Weatherman's confusions and ambiguities stem from a conflict between its model and its data, and it comes close to escaping this dilemma only when it forgets its static model of class for a moment, and gives freer rein to its sense of history and process. At such moments, it comes close to saying something really important, which I would paraphrase, over-optimistically no doubt, thus: "The labor force we are looking at today is not the one we'll see tomorrow, and the changes it will undergo have everything to do with the totality of its current and forthcoming experiences, which range all the way from the increasingly sensed contradiction between the rhetoric of affluence and the fact of hardship to the blood and money sacrifices it will be asked to offer in the empire's behalf." But this ought to be said up front, and it then ought to lead to the



most exhaustive analysis of the real, living forces that impinge upon not just labor but the population as a whole. Everytime something like this starts to happen, Weatherman breaks off and reverts to its concealed paradox: the vanguard of the US (Western would be better) revolution will be those forces which most aggressively array themselves *against* the US, those forces, in other words, which are most *distant* from white culture. Thus, *cause becomes agency*: the living proof of a *need* for change—the Panthers, the NLF, etc.—is defined as the political *means* of change; an almost absent-minded abstraction converts white America's sickness into the remedy itself.

The most succinct case of this kind of bad reasoning I've heard came at the end of a speech Bob Avakian made at the Austin NC. The racism of white workers would have to be broken, he said, because, when the revolution comes, it will be led by blacks, whose leadership whites must therefore be prepared to accept. If this were only an unconsidered trifle, it would be pointless to snap it up, but it appears to represent a serious, persistent, and growing school of thought in the New Left. The problem with it is just that it implies that there could be a revolution in the absence of a profound radicalization of the white working class, in the absence of profound changes in the political character of that class. What would make it possible for white workers to revolt would also make it possible—and necessary—for white workers to help *lead* that revolt. The very idea of a white working class revolution against capitalism that is, necessarily *presupposes* either than racism will have been overcome or at least that the conditions for that triumph will have been firmly established. The problem with this dreamed-of revolution will not be anti-blackism within its ranks, but the anti-communism of its adversary. "In revolution, there are no whites or blacks, only reds."

But beyond this, Avakian (as with the Weathermen) wants it both ways: blacks are a colony, on the one hand, outside the colonizing political economy and set over against it; and on the other hand, they are in and of the empire's proletariat. In the first mode, they press against the empire from a position which is outside it in every sense but the geographical. In the second mode, they press upwards against the bourgeoisie from within capital's system of social classes. It is of course not impossible that these modes really do coexist and interpenetrate one another. In fact, it is likely that they do. But both modes cannot be represented as simultaneously co-leading aspects of the black situation *vis-a-vis* white society. A white revolutionary strategy requires a decision as to which aspect is dominant and which secondary, *as well as an understanding that what is dominant now may become secondary later, may even disappear.*

So—an attempt at a clarification (which, as with certain other points I've tried to make in this letter, I'll have to elaborate and defend in some other, more ample space):

1. The persistence of integrationism, in a dozen disguises, and nationalism's struggle against it, make a strong circumstantial case for the view that blacks are above all

blacks. They are not just another part of the workforce, not even just the main body of the lumpenproletariat. Nor do they make up a *caste*. Industrial societies do not have, cannot afford, castes; castes belong to pre-capitalist formations (or, at latest, to agrarian capitalism) and are in fact destroyed by the imperatives of industrial organization.

Obviously, blacks are assigned an important role in the US production-consumption process. So were pre-revolutionary Cubans. So are contemporary Venezuelans. The low-skill aspect of black production and the importance of the credit and welfare systems in black consumption constitute, in themselves, the leading features of a *colonial* relation to a colonizing political economy. It is therefore appropriate to see the black ghetto as a colony. Thus, and *true* black nationalism (much "nationalist" rhetoric is merely a Hallowe'en mask for integrationist or even *comprador* demands) is necessarily anti-imperialist, and could consummate whatever military or political victories it might achieve in the independence struggle only through a socialist development of the means of production.

2. No more than the struggle of the Vietnamese can be the struggle of the blacks to play a "vanguard" role in the problematic revolution of white America. *Vietnam and Detroit, the NLF and the Panthers, do not constitute the means of white America's liberation from imperialist capital. They constitute, rather, the necessity of that liberation.* They exist for white America as the living embodiment of problems which white America must solve. There are, obviously, many other such problems: the draft, high taxes, inflation, the whole array of ecological and environmental maladies, Big Brotherism at all levels of government, the general and advanced hypertrophy of the State, the fractionalizing of the civil society. Most of these problems are relatively diffuse; they are not experienced so acutely as the war or the ghetto risings. But they are still real to people, and they all have the same general source in the hegemony of capitalism: What sets Vietnam aflame is the same force that brutalizes the black population and poisons everybody's air.

3. The function of the white Western socialist is therefore, at this moment, to confront white America (white France, etc.) with the truth about the problems that harass it, to explain that these problems cannot be solved merely by repressing those people in whose lives the problems are embodied, cannot be solved by prayer or petition, and above all that they cannot be solved so long as the means of production, the wealth of that production, and the monopoly of political power that goes with those means and that wealth are locked up in the hands of the big bourgeoisie. You would as wisely ask the bullet to sew up the wound it made as ask the monopoly capitalist to solve these problems. The capitalist cannot do it. But the socialist can. That is the point we have to make.

4. The rebellion of white students is provoked most fundamentally by the general *extrinsic* failure of capitalist production—by the fact, that is, that production has become so conspicuously anti-social. This is what gives the student rebellion both its power and its very real limits. But this

extrinsic collapse has not yet been followed by an *intrinsic* collapse: the system of capitalist production is at the moment *both insane and rational*. If a failure of its administration should produce also an *intrinsic* collapse—if suddenly no one could buy and no one could sell—then the people of the West would come again to the crossroads of the 1930s, and would have to decide again whether they would solve their problems by means of war or revolution. It is at that point that the fight for the loyalty of the proletariat will become truly historical instead of merely theoretical, necessary instead of merely right, possible instead of merely desirable. *But no will, no courage, no ingenuity can force this eventuality.* If it develops, and if the crisis is prolonged enough for white American workers to grasp the need for revolution, then with the same motion in which they change their rifles from one shoulder to the other, they will simultaneously *de-colonize* the blacks, the Vietnamese, the Cubans, the French—for at such a moment, all the old paralyzing definitions will die and new definitions, revolutionary ones, will take their place. The world proletariat will have achieved, at last, its dreamed-of world unity. This possibility, this towering historical power, is merely the other side of what it means to be a white American. But again: no matter how well it is organized or how combative and brilliant its performance is, no Western socialism has it in its power to force or even to hasten the intrinsic collapse of capitalist production. If you are an unreconstructed Marxist, you believe that it will come about sooner or later; if, like myself, you are not, then you don't know. It could happen: the market seems pale, inventories are large, the need to fight inflation in behalf of the international position of the dollar may lead to harder money, more unemployment, and still further slippage in demand; and if Nixon does not get the ABM, the whole system of the US Cold War economy will have received an ominous if mainly symbolic jolt. My view is that if this process starts unfolding, labor will have scant need of student organizers, and in the second place, that it will actively seek the support of student radicals. The "worker-student alliance" will happen when workers want it to happen, they will want it when they need it, and they will need it when and if the system starts coming apart. At such a conjuncture, students will have a critical contribution to make no matter what happens between now and then; but their contribution will be all the greater if they will have employed this uncertain threshold period to secure some kind of power base in the universities and such other institutions as they can reach, and if they will have used the opportunities of their situation to take the case for socialism to the country as a whole, aware certainly that class *implies* a political signature, but just as aware that it does not *necessitate* one. It is mainly to the extent that the white movement has done just this, in fact, that it has been of some occasional concrete service to the black movement, and the same will be true of any forthcoming relationship with a self-radicalized labor force.

Let me put this more bluntly. We are not now free to fight The Revolution except in fantasy. This is not a limit

we can presently transcend; it is set by the over-all situation, and it will only be lifted by a real breakdown within the system of production. Nor will the lifting of the limit be the end of our fight; it will be just the possibility of its beginning. Meanwhile, there is no point in posing ourselves problems which we cannot solve, especially when the agony of doing so means, in effect, the abandoning of humbler projects—"humbler"!... as for example, the capture of real power in the university system—which might otherwise have been brought to a successful head. Just look: Very little, even insignificant effort was invested in the idea of "student power," and the SDS leadership even debunked the concept as, of all things, "counter-revolutionary." Yet we have just witnessed a moment in which a few key universities very nearly chose to collide head-on with the State over the question of repression of the Left. That would have been a momentous fight, especially coming on the heels of the black campus insurrections. It's our fault that it didn't happen. The fault may be immense.

**T**his was supposed to be about the future. Thousands of words later, I have still said very little about the future. I'm not really surprised at myself, and I won't apologize, but simply sum it up by saying that if SDS continues the past year's vanguarditis, then it, at least, will have precious little future at all. For what this movement needs is a swelling base, not a vanguard.

Or if a vanguard, then one which would rather *ride* a horse than look it in the mouth. One which wants students to get power and open up the campuses, blacks to win the franchise and elect some mayors, architects to be against the war and advertise that fact in the *Times*, clergy to be concerned and preach heretical sermons, inductees to dodge the draft and soldiers to organize a serviceman's union, workers to have more pay and shorter hours, hippies to make parks on private property, liberals to defeat the ABM, West Europe to escape NATO, East Europe the Warsaw Pact, and the global south the Western empires—and the American people as a whole (by any means necessary!) to be free enough to face their genocidal past for what it was, their bloody present for what it portends, and their future for that time of general human prosperity and gladness which they have the unique power to turn it into. And for being still more "revolutionary" than this implies, let us confess that time alone will tell us what they might mean.

Carl Oglesby is a former president of SDS and co-author of *Containment and Change*. //

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

A source has advised that the Students For A Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. From an initial ideological posture of "participatory democracy," the current line of the national leadership reveals an adherence to Marxism-Leninism. MICHAEL KLONSKY, National Secretary, in March, 1969, called for the building of a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist movement. The program of SDS has moved from involvement in civil rights struggles to an anti-Vietnam war position and finally to its present advocacy of an anti-imperialist line, linking up the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America with the black liberation movement in the United States. China, Vietnam, and Cuba are regarded as countries which are leading the world-wide struggles against United States imperialism. On the other hand, SDS regards the Soviet Union as an imperialist power and does not support the policies of that country.

SDS maintains a National Office in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois. Its official paper "New Left Notes" reflects the line of the national leadership and program adopted at meetings of the National Council and National Interim Committee (NIC). Three national officers and a NIC of eleven members are elected each year during a June National Convention.

SDS Regional Offices and university and college chapters elect delegates to National Council meetings wherein program and ideology are debated, but each Region and chapter is autonomous in nature and is free to carry out independent policy and programs reflective of local conditions.

APPENDIX



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-21-2011 BY 65179 DMH/DF

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

October 27, 1969

Title CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.

Character SECURITY MATTERS - STUDENTS FOR A  
DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY - [REDACTED]

Reference Report of SA CHESTER L. JACOB  
dated 10/27/69, at San Francisco.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities  
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable  
information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property  
of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside  
your agency.

CPO-956

F B I

Date: 10/29/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-142056)

FROM: SAC, BOSTON (100-37094) (RUC)

SUBJECT: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.  
SM - SDS (KEY ACTIVIST)

W

Re San Francisco airtel to Bureau dated 9/5/69.

The Boston Globe ~~daily~~ newspaper at Boston, Mass., in the edition dated 10/29/69 contained an article on page 10 captioned, "X-Head of SDS 'Says Society is Rotting!" This article is datelined Marlboro, Vermont, and indicates that former SDS President CARL OGLESBY, who is living in Marlboro, Vermont, and is writing a book, admits he is not longer associated with the Students for a Democratic Society. OGLESBY identifies himself as being an independent radical.

LEAD:ALBANYAT MARLBORO, VERMONT

Verify subject's presence and exact location in Marlboro, Vermont, and determine his mode of living and activities.

2-Bureau (RM)  
 2-San Francisco (100-55497) (RM)  
 2-Albany (RM)  
 1-Boston  
 THH/em  
 (7)

105-142056-137

REC-28

\* OCT 31 1969

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 8-1-00 BY SP5-JTM/MS

441931 922191

Approved:

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

CPO-957

SAC, San Francisco (100-55497)

11/17/69

Director, FBI (105-142056)

CARL PRESTON OGLESBY  
 SM - SDS  
 (KEY ACTIVIST)

An SDS Regional Conference was held in Philadelphia through October 24-26, 1969. Oglesby was scheduled to be a speaker at this conference, however, was unable to attend because he was physically exhausted according to [redacted]

b6  
b7C

An informant advised that during the conference he had overheard [redacted]

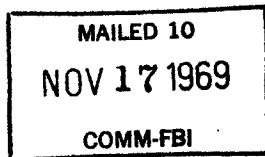
[redacted] Oglesby had a mental breakdown and that he could not orient his thoughts.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

You are requested to advise if there is any credence to the above statements and what is the current status of subject's health.

WNP:mst  
 (4)

olson \_\_\_\_\_  
 eLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 alters \_\_\_\_\_  
 shi \_\_\_\_\_  
 ishop \_\_\_\_\_  
 asper \_\_\_\_\_  
 allahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 onrod \_\_\_\_\_  
 elt \_\_\_\_\_  
 ale \_\_\_\_\_  
 osen \_\_\_\_\_  
 llivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 rvel \_\_\_\_\_  
 yars \_\_\_\_\_  
 sle. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 xmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 indy \_\_\_\_\_



MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

ST-110

REC-23 105-142056-138  
 NOV 18 1969  
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 8-1-06 BY SPS-JCFM/S  
 447931 922191

CPO-958

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-142056)

DATE: 11/19/69

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55497) (P)

SUBJECT: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY  
SM - SDS  
(KEY ACTIVIST)

*Wheeler*

Re Bureau letter to San Francisco dated 11/17/69  
and Boston airtel to Bureau dated 10/29/69, copies to Albany.

For the information of Albany, referenced Bureau  
letter stated as follows:

"An SDS Regional Conference was held in  
Philadelphia through October 24-26, 1969. OGLESBY  
was scheduled to be a speaker at this conference,  
however, was unable to attend because he was  
physically exhausted according to [redacted]  
[redacted]

*Am*  
b6  
b7C

"An informant advised that during the  
conference he had overheard [redacted]

OGLESBY

had a mental breakdown and that he could not orient  
his thoughts.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

"You are requested to advise if there is any  
credence to the above statements and what is the  
current status of Subject's health."

OGLESBY has not spoken at public gatherings in this  
area and, so far as is known, has never attended the numerous  
demonstrations within this division during his residence here.  
He is unknown to his neighbors and the rank and file of the  
New Left other than through his reputation established prior  
to his coming to San Francisco. There is no evidence therefore  
in recent months to believe that Subject was in other than good  
health.

REC-56

*105-142056-139*

2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Albany (RM)  
2 - San Francisco  
RSB/sea  
(6)

NOV 21 1969

58DEC1 1969  
*Y*

81-00 SPS-JETMB  
447931 922194

*WHE*  
SEC.  
CPO-959

SF 100-55497  
RSB/sea

However, the most recent information concerning OGLESBY as indicated in referenced airtel is that he is presently residing in Marlboro, Vermont, where he is writing a book.

LEAD

ALBANY

AT MARLBORO, VERMONT: Pursuant to instructions in Bureau letter of 11/17/69, attempt to determine current status of Subject's health in addition to verification of residence.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-142056) *100-142056-140* DATE: 12/10/69

FROM : SAC, ALBANY (100-21067) (P)

SUBJECT: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY  
SM - SDS  
(KEY ACTIVIST)

Re Bureau letter to San Francisco dated, 11/17/69.  
San Francisco letter to Bureau dated, 11/19/69.  
Boston airtel to Bureau dated, 10/29/69.

The following investigation was conducted b6  
by SA [redacted] b7C

[redacted] Marlboro, Vermont, on 11/26/69, advised that the name of the subject is not familiar to her, and she further advised that she has not seen any mail addressed to this individual. [redacted] also checked the current student list at Marlboro College, but failed to locate the name of the subject on this list. She suggested contact with the United States Post Office at Wilmington, Vermont, and at West Brattleboro, Vermont, as both of these post offices have RFD routes going into Marlboro.

b6  
b7C

On this same date, [redacted] Wilmington, Vermont, advised that the name of the subject was not familiar to him and further that no mail had been seen going through that office for the subject.

b6  
b7C

[redacted] West Brattleboro, Vermont, on this same date, advised that the current roster for RFD# 2 and # 4, out of that post office failed to reveal the name of the subject. [redacted] advised that he had not seen any mail for the subject.

b6  
b7C

REC- 62  
100-142056-140  
2- Bureau (RM)  
2- San Francisco (100-55497) (RM)  
1- Boston (100-37094) (RM)  
2- Albany  
JH:lew  
(7)

5 DEC 12 1969

CPO-961



8-1-00 sps-JR/TMB  
447931 722191

DOJ SEC.

AL 100-21067

[REDACTED] Marlboro College, b6  
Marlboro, Vermont, (established source of the Albany b7C  
Office) on this same date advised that the subject b7D  
is definitely not in attendance at that college and  
is not a faculty member. She said the name of the  
subject is not familiar to her as anyone who has been  
connected with the college.

[REDACTED] Brattleboro Retreat, 75 Linden  
Street, Brattleboro, Vermont, on 12/4/69, advised  
that there is no patient at that mental institution  
by the name of CARL PRESTON OGLESBY. The Brattle-  
boro Retreat is the only private Mental Institution  
in the State of Vermont. [REDACTED] advised that  
some private patients are received at the Vermont  
State Hospital, Waterbury, Vermont, and mentally  
disturbed persons are cared for at Spring Lake Ranch,  
Cuttingsville, Vermont. She knew of no other possible  
locations where subject might possibly have gone in  
the State of Vermont for treatment of a mental condition.

b6  
b7C

LEADS

ALBANY

AT WATERBURY, VERMONT

Will contact the Vermont State Hospital and ascertain  
if the subject could be a patient there.

AT CUTTINGSVILLE, VERMONT

Will through reliable established source ascertain  
if subject could be at the Spring Lake Ranch recuperating  
from a nervous condition.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-142056)  
100-  
FROM: SAC, ALBANY (100-21067) (RUC)

SUBJECT: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY  
SM - SDS  
(KEY ACTIVIST)

DATE: 1/2/70

Re San Francisco letter to Bureau dated, 11/19/69.  
Albany letter to Bureau dated, 12/10/69.  
Boston airtel to Bureau dated, 10/29/69.

[redacted]  
b6  
b7C

Vermont State Hospital, Waterbury, Vermont, advised on 12/17/69, that the subject is not now nor has he ever been a patient at the State Hospital.

[redacted] Spring Lake Ranch, Cuttingsville, Vermont, advised on 12/22/69, that the subject has never been a patient at this institution.

b6  
b7C

Boston is requested to contact sources at the Boston Globe and confirm information set out in referenced airtel and attempt to further determine the location of the subject.

2- Bureau (RM)  
2- San Francisco (100-55497) (RM)  
2- Boston (100-37904) (RM)  
1- Albany  
AOA:lew  
(7)

EC-89

105-142056-141

8-1-00 505-JCMB  
722191 447793



FBI WASH DC

FBI CHICAGO

418 PM URGENT 1/7/70 DJS

TO DIRECTOR (105-142056), ALBANY AND SAN FRANCISCO (100-55497)  
FROM CHICAGO (100-42010) 1P

CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR. SM-SDS (KEY ACTIVIST) OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

REMYTEL JANUARY SIX LAST.

CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR. COMPLETED TESTIMONY IN CONSPIRACY  
SEVEN TRIAL IN CHICAGO TODAY. USA'S OFFICE ADVISED OGLESBY  
APPARENTLY RETURNING HOME, HOWEVER, NO MEANS OF TRAVEL COULD  
BE DETERMINED.

END

WJM

FBI WASH DC

REC-105

105-142056-142

11 JAN 8 1970

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-1-00 BY SP5/JC/TMB  
14752

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Bishop  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Higginbotham  
Mr. Lester  
Mr. Quinn  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Trotter  
Miss Gandy

CPO-964

FBI WASH DC

FBI CHICAGO

733PM URGENT 1-6-70 LJP

TO DIRECTOR (105-142056), ALBANY, AND SAN FRANCISCO (100-55497)  
FROM CHICAGO (100-42010)

b6  
b7C

CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR. SM - SDS (KEY ACTIVIST).  
OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR., FORMER PRESIDENT SDS AND  
FORMER SDS NATIONAL INTERIM COMMITTEE MEMBER, TESTIFIED  
TODAY AT CONSPIRACY SEVEN TRIAL, CHICAGO, AS DEFENSE  
WITNESS. OGLESBY STATED HE CURRENTLY RESIDES IN PUTNEY,  
VERMONT. OGLESBY WILL CONTINUE TESTIMONY TOMORROW,  
JANUARY SEVEN.

CHICAGO FOLLOWING AND WILL KEEP BUREAU AND INTERESTED  
OFFICES ADVISED.

END

DCW

CPO-965

FBI WASH DC

P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/22/93 BY 644793

8-1-00895-757MVB

44793 9221915 MP

105-142056-143

EX-10

REC-22

3 JAN 8 1970

F B I

Date: 1/7/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTELAIR MAIL - REGISTERED

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Winters \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mehr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Felt p. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Gandy \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Edwards \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 1st 2 lines \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-142056)  
 FROM: CBPz SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55497) (P)  
 SUBJECT: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.  
 SM - SDS  
 (KEY ACTIVIST)  
 OO: San Francisco

b6  
b7C

Re San Francisco airtel 11/19/69, Albany letter  
 1/2/70, and Chicago teletype 1/6/70.

Chicago teletype noted Subject's appearance at  
 Conspiracy Seven Trial where he stated he resides in Putney,  
 Vermont.

Albany confirm residence and handle leads in  
 referenced San Francisco airtel. San Francisco will submit  
 FD-128 upon confirmation.

EX-11

REC 13 105-142056-144

10 JAN 12 1970

2 - Bureau (RM)  
 2 - Albany (100-21067) (RM)  
 2 - Boston (100-37904) (RM)  
 2 - San Francisco  
 RSB/sea  
 (8)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 BY 8-1-00 BY SP5-JC/TMB

447931

922191

Approved: JAN 20 1970 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

CPO-966

F B I

Date: 1/13/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-142056)

FROM: SAC, ALBANY (100-21067) (P)

SUBJECT: CARL PRESTON <sup>6</sup>OGLESBY, JR.  
SM - SDS  
(KEY ACTIVIST)

(OO:SAN FRANCISCO)

b6  
b7C

Shackford

Re Chicago teletypes to Bureau, 1/6 and 1/7/70;  
and San Francisco airtel to Bureau, 1/7/70.

Records, U. S. Post Office, Putney, Vermont,  
reveal that CARL OGLESBY, JR. has been receiving mail  
c/o [redacted] and through P. O. Box #2, Putney, Vermont,  
since October, 1969. His employment is not known.

b6  
b7C

(2) - Bureau (RM)  
2 - San Francisco (100-55497) (RM)  
2 - Albany  
JH:1md  
(6)

REC-89

EX-111

105-142056-145

17 JAN 15 1970

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-1-00 BY SP5-JCHMS  
447931 928191

105-142056-145

CPO-967

Approved: SP5-JCHMS  
57 JAN 2 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE SAN FRANCISCO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN ALBANY	DATE 1/23/70	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 11/1/69 - 1/20/70
TITLE OF CASE CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.		REPORT MADE BY FRANCIS T. DAVIS	TYPED BY :mal
		CHARACTER OF CASE SM - SDS (KEY ACTIVIST)	

REFERENCE:

Report of SA CHESTER L. JACOBY dated 10/27/69  
at San Francisco.

*PL*  
- RUC  
FUIPA #94, 996  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/12/86 BY SP8/B3/AM

INFORMANT:Identity of Source

SF T-1 is

Wells  
Fargo Bank, San Francisco,  
California

Location of Information

100-55497-204-207

b6  
b7C  
b7D

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO
							PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO

APPROVED	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
<del>cc</del> <i>Copy</i> COPIES MADE: 8 - Bureau (105-142056) (RM) 1 - Secret Service, San Francisco Class 3 (RM) 3 - Albany (100-21067) (RM) (1 - Secret Service, Albany) (RM) 1 - San Francisco (100-55497)  <i>cc destroyed</i>		105-142056 - 146-19 JAN 29 1970	

Dissemination Record of Attached Report				
Agency	R40	55		
Request Recd.				
Date Fwd.	2-2-70			
How Fwd.	RS	RS	FD-326	
By	<i>WMP/jch</i>			

Notations
<i>4774 SEC</i>

CPO-968

57 FEB 5 1970

SF 100-55497

FTD:mal

[redacted] was observed by SA FRANCIS T. DAVIS.

b6  
b7C

B  
COVER PAGE

CPO-969

1.  Subject's name is included in the  Security Index or  Agitator Index.
2. The data appearing on the  Security Index Card  Agitator Index Card are current.
3.  Changes on the  Security Index Card  Agitator Index Card are necessary and  Form FD-122  FD-397 submitted to the Bureau.
4.  A suitable photograph  is  is not available. Date photograph was taken \_\_\_\_\_.
5.  Subject is employed in a key facility and \_\_\_\_\_ is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are \_\_\_\_\_.
6.  This report is classified Confidential because (state reason) ~~data furnished by SF T-1 could, if disclosed, reasonably result in identification of source of continuing value and compromise his effectiveness.~~
7.  Subject previously interviewed (dates) \_\_\_\_\_.  
 Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason) \_\_\_\_\_.
8.  This case no longer meet the  Security Index  Agitator Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation.
9.  This case has been reevaluated in the light of the  Security Index  Agitator Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason) **of his continuing public influence on revolutionary activity.**
10.  Subject's SI card  is  is not tabbed Detcom.  
 Subject's activities warrant Detcom tabbing because (state reasons) \_\_\_\_\_.

PRIORITY I

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Director  
United States Secret Service  
Department of the Treasury  
Washington, D. C. 20220

San Francisco, California  
January 23, 1970

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

RE: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1.  Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2.  Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3.  Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4.  U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5.  Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
  - (a)  Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
  - (b)  Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
  - (c)  Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6.  Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph  has been furnished  enclosed  is not available  
 may be available through \_\_\_\_\_

*Declassified 6*  
b6  
b7C

Very truly yours,

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

*Open  
10/11/08  
CPO-971*

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s))  
U. S. Secret Service

Enclosure(s)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)

UNIT STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to: 1 - Secret Service, San Francisco; Class 3 (RM)  
1 - Secret Service, Albany (RM)

Report of: FRANCIS T. DAVIS Office: SAN FRANCISCO  
Date: 1/23/70

Field Office File #: 100-55497 Bureau File #: 105-142056

Title: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.

Character: SECURITY MATTER - STUDENTS FOR  
A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Synopsis: Subject resides Post Office Box 2, Putney, Vermont, employment unknown. A Boston newspaper contained an article by subject in which he stated he is no longer associated with SDS and described himself as an independent radical.

- RUC -

DETAILS:

I. BACKGROUND

A. Residence and Employment

The records of the United States Post Office, Putney, Vermont, revealed that CARL OGLESBY, JR., has been receiving mail in care of  through Post Office Box 2, Putney, Vermont, since October, 1969. His employment is not known.

b6  
b7C

FD/PA #94, 996

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/12/82 BY SP8/B/J/Hc

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EX-2025  
downgrade to public  
dec 2001

CPO-972

SF 100-55497  
FTD:mal

B. Finances

OGLESBY and his wife continue to maintain a commercial account at the 22nd Street and Mission Branch of the Wells Fargo Bank, San Francisco, California. During the period October through December [redacted]

b6  
b7C

[redacted] During the month of October there was one deposit made to the account for \$480. During the month of November there was one deposit for \$586; and during the month of December there were two deposits, one on December 4 for \$500 and one on December 29 for \$600. The balance of the account ranged from \$55 to \$602.

SF T-1  
November 10, 1969 -  
January 8, 1970

The foregoing information is confidential and can be made public only through the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum directed to the manager of the 22nd and Mission Branch of the Wells Fargo Bank, San Francisco, California.

The above records reveal that statements to this account have been mailed to the OGLESBYs at 4440 23rd Street, San Francisco, California.

b6  
b7C

II. ACTIVITIES

The "Boston Globe," daily newspaper at Boston, Massachusetts, in an edition dated October 29, 1969, contained an article captioned, "X-Head Of SDS Says Society Is Rotting."

SF 100-55497  
FTD:mal

The article was datelined Marlboro, Vermont, and indicated that former SDS President CARL OGLESBY, who is living in Marlboro, Vermont, is writing a book, admits he is no longer associated with the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), and identified himself as being an independent radical.

A characterization of the SDS is contained in the appendix.

The December 20, 1969 issue of the "Guardian" contained an article by LEE WEBB, "Guardian" Staff Correspondent, concerning a two-day hearing at the National Conference on Social and Economic Conversion held December 3 and 4, 1969, at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, (MIT).

The article noted that the meeting was sponsored by the Science Action Coordinating Committee, a student group fighting war research at MIT and the liberal Fund for New Priorities, a New York group which organizes educational conferences for Congressmen. Though the New Priorities group funded most of the program it apparently did not have control of the speakers and panelists.

Former SDS President CARL OGLESBY was one of the speakers. He reminded the audience that another SDS president told the 1965 March on Washington, "we must name that system that created the war in Vietnam," but that neither he nor the rest of the SDS leadership was capable of saying the word at that time. OGLESBY brought the crowd to its feet again when he said, "The name of that system is imperialism - running dog, boot-licking imperialism."

A characterization of the "Guardian" is contained in the appendix.

The January 5, 1970 weekly issue of "Time" magazine contained a book review on a book "The New Left Reader" edited by CARL OGLESBY.

SF 100-55497

FTD:mal

The review noted that OGLESBY's book was a manual for New Left Rhetoric.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

A source has advised that the Students For A Democratic Society (SDS), as presently regarded, came into being at a founding convention held June, 1962, at Port Huron, Michigan. From an initial posture of "participatory democracy" the line of the national leadership has revealed a growing Marxist-Leninist adherence which currently calls for the building of a revolutionary youth movement. Concurrently, the program of SDS has evolved from civil rights struggles to an anti-Vietnam war stance to an advocacy of a militant anti-imperialist position. China, Vietnam, and Cuba are regarded as the leaders of worldwide struggles against United States imperialism whereas the Soviet Union is held to be revisionist and also imperialist.

At the June, 1969, SDS National Convention, Progressive Labor Party (PLP) forces in the organization were expelled. As a result, the National Office (NO) group maintained its National Headquarters at 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois, and the PLP faction set up headquarters in Cambridge, Massachusetts. This headquarters subsequently moved to Boston. Each group elected its own national officers, which include three national secretaries and a National Interim Committee of eight. Both the NO forces and the PLP forces claim to be the true SDS. Both groups also print their versions of "New Left Notes" which sets forth the line and the program of the particular faction. The NO version of "New Left Notes" was recently printed under the title "The Fire Next Time" to achieve a broader mass appeal.

Two major factions have developed internally within the NO group, namely, the Weatherman or Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM) I faction, and the RYM II faction. Weatherman is action-oriented upholding CASTRO's position that the duty of revolutionaries is to make revolution. Weatherman is regarded by RYM II as an adventuristic, elitist faction which denies the historical role of the working class as the base for revolution. RYM II maintains that revolution, although desired, is not possible under present conditions, hence emphasizes organizing and raising the political consciousness of the working class upon whom they feel successful revolution depends. Although disclaiming control and domination by the Communist Party, USA, leaders in these two factions have in the past proclaimed themselves to be communists and to follow the precepts of a Marxist-Leninist philosophy, along pro-Chinese communist lines.

A second source has advised that the PLP faction which is more commonly known as the Worker Student Alliance is dominated and controlled by members of the PLP, who are required to identify themselves with the pro-Chinese Marxist-Leninist philosophy of the PLP. They advocate that an alliance between workers and students is vital to the bringing about of a revolution in the United States.

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

SDS regions and university and college chapters, although operating under the outlines of the SDS National Constitution, are autonomous in nature and free to carry out independent policy reflective of local conditions. Because of this autonomy internal struggles reflecting the major factional interests of SDS have occurred at the chapter level since the beginning of the 1969-70 school year.

A characterization of PLP is attached.

APPENDIX

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY (PLP)

"The New York Times" city edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP which had been known as the Progressive Labor Movement.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962, by Milton Rosen and Mortimer Scheer after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

A source advised on June 3, 1968, that the PLP held its Second National Convention in New York City, May 31 to June 2, 1968, at which time the PLP reasserted its objective of the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism. This is to be accomplished through the Party's over-all revolutionary strategy of raising the consciousness of the people and helping to provide ideological leadership in the working class struggle for state power.

The source also advised that at the Second National Convention Milton Rosen was unanimously re-elected National Chairman of the PLP and Levi Laub, Fred Jerome, Jared Israel, William Epton, Jacob Rosen, Jeffrey Gordon, and Walter Linder were elected as the National Committee to lead the PLP until the next convention.

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor", a bimonthly magazine; "World Revolution," a quarterly periodical; and "Challenge-Desafio", a monthly newspaper.

The April, 1969, issue of "Challenge-Desafio" sets forth that "Challenge is dedicated to the peoples fight for a new way of life--where the working men and women control their own homes and factories; where they themselves make up the entire government on every level and control the schools, courts, police and all institutions which are now used to control them."

Source advised on May 8, 1969, that the PLP utilizes an address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn, New York, and also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square West, New York, New York.

APPENDIX

**"GUARDIAN  
FORMERLY KNOWN AS  
"NATIONAL GUARDIAN";  
WEEKLY GUARDIAN ASSOCIATES, INCORPORATED**

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the "National Guardian":

"1. . . 'established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a "progressive" weekly . . . it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia.' "

The February 3, 1968, issue of the "National Guardian" announced that as of the issue of February 10, 1968, the "National Guardian" would henceforth be known as the "Guardian."

The May 10, 1969 issue of the "Guardian" is self-described as an "independent radical newsweekly" and is published by Weekly Guardian Associates, Incorporated. The "Guardian" lists its address as 197 East 4th Street, New York, New York.

The February 12, 1968, issue of "The New York Times" carried an article entitled "Radical Editors Say Their Job Is In 'Movement.' " This article stated that the first issue of the "Guardian" was dedicated by the paper's staff "To those heroic Liberation fighters who last week began a major offensive against American Imperialism in South Vietnam."

The article quoted one of the editors as saying that "Our job is to build a Radical Movement. To quote the Cuban revolutionaries, we are not only to write about it, but also to move along with it - - we are movement people acting as journalists.

"The 'Guardian' takes a strong left position, but it is not identified with any organized group because it believes that an American left ideology is still in the making. One of its purposes is to break away from the cliches of the left ideology of the past."

This article concluded by stating that the "Guardian" is considered the largest radical weekly in America.

**APPENDIX**

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

The Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, revised and published December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, contains the following on Page 22 concerning the American Labor Party:

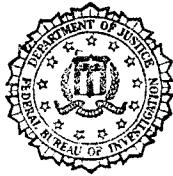
"1. 'For years, the Communists have put forth the greatest efforts to capture the entire American Labor Party throughout New York State. They succeeded in capturing the Manhattan and Brooklyn sections of the American Labor Party but outside of New York City they have been unable to win control'.

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 78.)

"2. 'Communist dissimulation extends into the field of political parties forming political front organizations such as the \*\*\* American Labor Party. The Communists are thus enabled to present their candidates for elective office under other than a straight Communist label'.

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

APPENDIX



## UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

January 23, 1970

*In Reply, Please Refer to*  
*File No.*

Title                   CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.

Character           SECURITY MATTER - STUDENTS FOR  
 A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Reference           Report of FRANCIS T. DAVIS dated  
 January 23, 1970, at San Francisco.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities  
 are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable  
 information in the past.

(10)

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property  
 of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside  
 your agency.

CPO-981

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile - 105-142056) ) DATE: 1/23/70

FROM : SAG SAN FRANCISCO (100-55497) (RUC)

SUBJECT: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.  
SM - SDS  
(KEY ACTIVIST)

Cards U/T  
Cards Sent 00

2/11/70  
msd

The captioned individual has been the subject of a security or racial investigation by this office. The Albany Division has verified the permanent presence of the subject in its division as residing and working at the addresses listed below. The Albany Division is being considered the new office of origin.

Residence Address

Post Office Box 2

Putney, Vermont

Business Address, Name of Employing Concern and Address, Nature of Employment, and Union Affiliation, if any.

Unknown.

Check the following applicable statements:

This individual is the subject of a  Security Index Card  Agitator Index Card.  
(The Bureau is requested to make the appropriate changes in the  Security Index  Agitator Index at the Seat of Government. The Albany Division should affix the addresses indicated above and the appropriate case file number.)

This subject is tabbed Priority I.

This subject was carried as a Top Functionary, Key Activist.

Handwriting specimens have been furnished to the Bureau.

A photograph has been furnished to the Bureau.

A security flash notice has been placed with the Identification Division and a copy has been designated therefor.

The following pertinent items are being forwarded to the new Office of Origin with its copies of this letter:

Security Index Cards (3)

Agitator Index Card

Serials (specify) (See page 2)

Photograph of subject (check appropriate item listed below)

Negative and three copies of most recent or best likeness photograph.

None available.

Previously furnished.

② - Bureau (Registered Mail)  
2 - Albany (100-21067)  
1 - San Francisco  
FTD:mal  
(5)

RUC  
Enc. 25  
(Registered Mail)

REC 9 105-142056-147

■ JAN 30 1970

DIV. SEC.

8-1-00 505 JETMB  
447931 722191

STAT. SEAL

CPO-982

SF 100-55497  
FTD:mal

- 1) Report of SA J. RAYMOND COGHLAN dated 10/14/66 at Detroit.
- 2) Report of SA J. RAYMOND COGHLAN dated 10/8/65 at Detroit.
- 3) Report of SA J. RAYMOND COGHLAN dated 6/30/66 at Detroit.
- 4) Report of SA [redacted] dated 12/11/67 at Cincinnati. b6 b7C
- 5) Bureau airtel to Cincinnati dated 1/30/68.
- 6) Bureau airtel to Cincinnati dated 2/1/68.
- 7) Report of SA [redacted] dated 6/24/68 at Cincinnati. b6 b7C
- 8) Letter from Internal Revenue Service to Department of Justice dated 7/2/68, with subject's form 1040 for 1966 as an enclosure.
- 9) Letter from Internal Revenue Service to Department of Justice, dated 7/11/68 with subject's form 1040 for 1966 as an enclosure.
- 10) Cincinnati airtel and LHM dated 10/18/68.
- 11) Report of SA [redacted] dated 9/28/68 at Chicago, concerning ARL violation.
- 12) Report of SA [redacted] dated 1/9/69 at Cincinnati. b6 b7C
- 13) Report of SA [redacted] dated 2/10/69 at Mexico City.
- 14) Summary report of CHESTER L. JACOBY dated 4/14/69 at San Francisco.

SF 100-55497

FTD:mal

- 15) Report of SA CHESTER L. JACOBY dated 10/27/69 at San Francisco.
- 16) Report of SA CHESTER L. JACOBY dated 7/17/69 at San Francisco.
- 17) An FD-350 clipping from "Time" magazine which contains the recent photograph of the subject.
- 18) Report of SA FRANCIS T. DAVIS dated 1/23/70 at San Francisco.

SAC, Albany (100-21067)

2-16-70

Director, FBI (105-142056)

1 - Mr. G. H. Menzel  
1 - Miss Muir  
1 -   
1 -

b6  
b7C

CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.  
SM - SDS

A review of subject's file indicates he was extremely active in the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) until late 1968, although he was a member of the SDS National Interim Committee from June, 1968, to June, 1969. During the past ten months, where he has been residing in San Francisco, Oglesby has been writing material on the New Left movement as a whole and his attendance at SDS sponsored affairs and affairs of other New Left groups has been minimal. The "Boston Globe" issue of 10-20-69, in an article captioned, "X-Head of SDS Says Society is Rotting," Oglesby, who said he was writing a book in Vermont, also stated he is no longer associated with SDS and was an independent radical.

While Oglesby has been considered to be one of the senior spokesmen in New Left circles, the Bureau is of the opinion his activities do not warrant him being considered as a Key Activist at this time. Accordingly, he is being removed from the Key Activist list. Continue to maintain Oglesby in Priority I of the Security Index, and should additional information come to your attention which would justify his designation as a Key Activist, you should advise the Bureau.

WNP:ml  
(7)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_

MAILED 21  
FEB 16 1970  
COMM-FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-1-00 BY SP5/JTM/B

44793 922191

19 FEB 16 1970

FEB 24 1970 MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

CPO-985

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE ALBANY	OFFICE OF ORIGIN ALBANY	DATE 4/15/71	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 2/14/70 - 3/31/71
TITLE OF CASE CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.		REPORT MADE BY SA [redacted]	TYPED BY b6 b7C lew
		CHARACTER OF CASE SM - SDS	

REFERENCES:

Report of SA FRANCIS T. DAVIS dated 1/23/70, at San Francisco;

Albany letters to Boston dated 5/11/70, 6/29/70, 8/28/70, 12/10/70, and 1/27/71;

Boston letters to Albany dated 6/15/70 and 1/13/71; Chicago letter to Albany dated 6/23/70, entitled, "DAVID TYRE DELLINGER, aka ET AL, ARL - CONSPIRACY;"

Denver letter to Chicago, 7/20/70, captioned, "DAVID TYRE DELLINGER, aka ET AL, ARL - CONSPIRACY (Travel of Defendants);"

Albany letter to Denver dated, 11/27/70;

Los Angeles letter to Albany dated, 11/30/70.

-P-

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA:

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED <input type="checkbox"/> NONE						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:	
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO	
							PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO	

APPROVED *142056*SPECIAL AGENT  
IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

⑧ Bureau (105-142056) (RM)  
 3- Boston (100-37094) (RM)  
 (1- U.S. Secret Service, Boston)  
 3- Albany (100-21067)  
 (1- U.S. Secret Service, Syracuse, New York)

*105-142056-150*

REC-23

*16 APR 19 1971*

EX-103

CPO-987

## Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	RAC	SS	
Request Recd.			
Date Fwd.	4/28/71		
How Fwd.	0-6	FD-376	
By	JHK	ent	

## Notations

*EX-103*  
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 3/12/82 BY SP9/BTO/jmc

AL 100-21067

Information set forth in this report as being obtained from the records of the USPO, Putney, Vermont, are as a result of contact with [redacted]

b6  
b7C

[redacted] or with [redacted] Clerk, USPO, Putney, Vermont. It will be noted that all information pertaining to contacts with the above individuals is not set forth in this report, however, contact with them was made every thirty days or more often during the period February 14, 1970, and through March 31, 1971. Subject's exact whereabouts have not been known since that time and his address has not been verified at 146 A Huron Avenue, Cambridge, as of the date of this report. It will be noted that all dates of contact with the USPO at Putney, Vermont, have not been included in the body of the report.

Eight copies of this report are designated for the Bureau in the event the Bureau wishes to disseminate on the Federal level.

INFORMANTS:

<u>Identity-of Source</u>	<u>File Where Located</u>
AL T-1 is [redacted]	100-21067-40
AL T-2 is [redacted]	" 
AL T-3 is [redacted]	"
AL T-4 is [redacted]	"
AL T-5 is [redacted] USPO, Central Square, Cambridge, Mass.	b6 b7C b7D 100-21067-53
AL T-6 is [redacted] [redacted] Boston, Massachusetts	"
AL T-7 is [redacted]	100-21067-48
AL T-8 is [redacted]	" 
AL T-9 is [redacted]	"

(COVER PAGE B)

CPO-988

AL 100-21067

INFORMANTS Cont.

<u>Identity of Source</u>	<u>File Where Located</u>
AL T-10 is [redacted]	100-21067-48
AL T-11 is [redacted]	"
AL T-12 is [redacted]	b7D
AL T-13 is [redacted]	"
AL T-14 is [redacted]	"
AL T-15 is [redacted]	b6
AL T-16 is [redacted] California Institute of the Arts, Los Angeles, California	b7C
	b7D
AL T-17 is [redacted] Putney, Vermont	b6 b7C b7D
	100-21067-35

Records, Computer Credit Corporation, Los Angeles,  
California, were reviewed on 10/7/70, by IC [redacted]  
[redacted]

b6  
b7C

LEADS:

BOSTON

AT CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

Will verify subject's address at 321 Huron Street  
or 146 A Huron, along with his occupation.

ALBANY

Will upon verification of subject's address in  
Cambridge, Massachusetts, submit an FD-128.

(COVER PAGE C)

1.  Subject's name is included in the  Security Index  Agitator Index  Reserve Index.
2.  The data appearing on the  Security Index Card  Agitator Index Card are current.
3.  The data appearing on the Reserve Index Card  A  B  are current  have been changed.
4.  Changes on the  Security Index Card  Agitator Index Card are necessary and  Form FD-122  FD-397 submitted to the Bureau.
5.  A suitable photograph  is  is not available. Date photograph was taken 6/28/65.
6.  Subject is employed in a key facility and \_\_\_\_\_ is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are \_\_\_\_\_
7.  This report is classified CONFIDENTIAL because (state reason) as data furnished by some informants, if disclosed, could reasonably result in identification of source which could compromise his continuing value and effectiveness.
8.  Subject previously interviewed (dates) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason)
9.  This case no longer meets the  Security Index  Agitator Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation.
10.  This case has been reevaluated in the light of the  Security Index  Agitator Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason) Key activists status has been dropped per Bureau instructions on 2/16/70, however, he is being continued in Priority I in view of his continuing public influence on revolutionary activity.
11.  Subject's SI card is tabbed  Priority I  Priority II  Priority III.  
 Subject's activities warrant such tabbing because (state reasons) of his continuing public influence on revolutionary activity.

(COVER PAGE D\*)

CPO-990



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Director  
United States Secret Service  
Department of the Treasury  
Washington, D. C. 20220

April 15, 1971

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1.  Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2.  Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3.  Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4.  U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5.  Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
  - (a)  Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
  - (b)  Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
  - (c)  Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6.  Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph  has been furnished  enclosed  is not available  
 may be available through \_\_\_\_\_

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

CPO-991

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s))  
U. S. Secret Service, Boston, Massachusetts  
Syracuse, New York

Enclosure(s)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)

8-1-90  
447931 922191  
SAC-RJW

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**Copy to:** 1 - US Secret Service, Boston  
1 - US Secret Service, **Syracuse**

**Report of:** SA [redacted] b6  
**Date:** APRIL 15, 1971 b7C

**Office:** ALBANY

**Field Office File #:** 100-21067

**Bureau File #:** 105-142056

**Title:** CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.

FBI DA #94,996  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 3/2/82 BY SP8/BT/J/KC

**Character:** SECURITY MATTER - STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

**Synopsis:** Subject resided P. O. Box #2, Putney, Vermont, from October, 1969, until April, 1970. Since that time he has been moving from place to place staying only a short time in each location. Subject testified before USDC, Northern District of Illinois 1/6-7/70, in connection with Conspiracy Seven Trial. Was Fellow of the Humanist Institute in Aspen, Colorado, Summer of 1970. Records, passport office, indicate [redacted] applied for passport 1/3/71, for proposed travel to Mexico for vacation of two weeks. Informants familiar with New Left activities at Boston, Mass. and Los Angeles, California, could furnish no information that would indicate subject is engaged in open New Left activity. Subject reportedly writing a book entitled "Rural Poverty in Vermont."

-P-

DETAILS:

RESIDENCE

The records of the United States Post Office, Putney, Vermont, reveal that CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.

*OGLESBY*  
S. A. [redacted]  
Date DEC 13 1974 b6  
b7C

[redacted]

CPO-992

AL 100-21067

has been receiving mail regularly since October, 1969, through Post Office Box #2 at that Post Office until April, 1970.

On April 25, 1970, OGLESBY left a forwarding address at this Post Office for first class mail to be forwarded to in care of [redacted] Cambridge, Mass. b6 b7C He indicated this address was temporary but did not state for what length of time his mail was to be forwarded to this address. As of March 31, 1971, subject's mail was still being forwarded to the above address in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

During the period June 5 - 10, 1970, the following sources were contacted relative to possible New Left activity on the part of OGLESBY in the Boston and Cambridge, Mass., area with negative results:

AL T-1 on June 5, 1970;  
AL T-2 on June 8, 1970;  
AL T-3 on June 8, 1970;  
AL T-4 on June 10, 1970

The following investigation was conducted in the Boston Division of the Federal Bureau of Investigation b6 b7C by SA [redacted]

A check of the records of the Main Post Office, Central Square, Cambridge, Massachusetts, revealed a change of address for [redacted] Cambridge, b6 Massachusetts, to [redacted] Somerville, b7C Massachusetts 02144, effective date was July 2, 1970. No forwarding address was located for the subject.

(AL T-5 on August 18, 1970)

Information was received on October 23, 1970, that mail was not being received at [redacted] Somerville, b6 b7C Mass., for the subject.

(AL T-6 on October 23, 1970)

AL 100-21067

Information was received on December 23, 1970, that the subject was receiving mail at 321 Huron Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

(AL T-6 on December 23, 1970)

Passpat records reveal that subject as of January 3, 1971, was residing 146 A. Huron Avenue, Cambridge, Mass.

#### ACTIVITIES

CARL OGLESBY testified before the United States District Court, Northern District of Illinois, on January 6-7, 1970, in connection with the Conspiracy Seven Trial. At the time he furnished his address as Putney, Vermont, and his occupation as writer, playwright, song writer, singer and lecturer.

He said he is the co-author with one, RICHARD SCHALL, of a book entitled "Containment and Change", published in 1967 by McMillen, the subject matter being American Foreign Policy over the years along with current foreign policy.

Just published by Grove Press, an Anthology, a collection of writings by New Left Theorists called "The New Left Reader". He further testified to writing a series of articles over the past several years for various magazines such as "The Nation" and "Life" on political life and subjects.

Up until 1965 he worked first at what is now known as Goodyear Aerospace Corporation and then for five years with what is now Bendix Aerospace Corporation as supervisor of a technical publication's department. The work was connected with defense and constituted a number of contracts with National Space Agency (NASA). After this he joined Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) in June, 1965.

He said he has taught as a resident scholar (1966-67) at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, and taught again at Antioch as a regular member of the English Department faculty in the summer of 1968. At the beginning of 1968, he said he was a Fellow of the Tucker Foundation, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire.

(A characterization of SDS is attached in the appendix hereto) -3-

AL 100-21067

In the summer of 1970, he was to be a Fellow of the Humanist Institute in Aspen, Colorado, and in the fall was to join the School of Critical Studies at the California Institute of The Arts in Los Angeles, California.

In his testimony he claimed to have authorized 30 songs, nine of which Vanguard Recording Society has just come out with.

The testimony of CARL OGLESBY indicated that he met with about 30 to 40 people in New York City, New York, on January 24, 1968, including three of the defendants TOM HAYDEN, DAVID DELLINGER and RENNIE DAVIS. This meeting was to form plans for a demonstration at Chicago, Illinois, during the Democratic Convention. In this regard he met again with TOM HAYDEN at his home in Yellow Springs, Ohio, on July 1-2, 1970, at which time he had a lengthy discussion with HAYDEN relative to the plans for the demonstration. He said HAYDEN was a guest in his home for these two days.

The remainder of his testimony before this court was relative to his participation in the actual demonstration at Chicago and testimony concerning the activities of the defendants HAYDEN, DELLINGER and DAVIS at the convention.

The February 14, 1970, edition of the "Brattleboro Daily Reformer", published daily at Brattleboro, Vermont, carried an article entitled "Carl Oglesby to Open Spring Lecture Series". Date lined at Putney, Vermont, the article stated the Windham College Spring Lecture Series will begin Wednesday with a talk by CARL OGLESBY, a well-known writer currently residing in the Putney Area.

OGLESBY will speak on "The Situation of the New Left" at 8 p.m. in the college's Science Auditorium. His presentation will be followed by a question and answer period. The event is open to the general public free of charge.

OGLESBY who was born in North Carolina but grew up in the mid-west, first gained national prominence when he turned away from a promising career in the theatrical world to work in the newly formed Students for a Democratic Society.

Since then he has devoted his energies to the development of the New Left in this country, serving for a time as president of the SDS and writing, together with

RICHARD SHAULL, a book called "Containment and Change", which quickly established itself as the best and most articulate statement of New Left views on United States foreign policy.

He also edited an anthology entitled "The New Left Reader". Generally recognized as one of the foremost intellectual spokesman of the New Left, OGLESBY is a frequent contributor to many journals, both radical and mainstream. Although currently at work on a major new book, he remains active in the world of politics. Just a few weeks ago he testified as a defense witness in the Chicago Conspiracy Trial.

An album of contemporary folk songs composed and sung by OGLESBY, has just been released by Vanguard.

The following investigation was conducted by SA VINCENT R. JONES on July 9, 1970, at Aspen, Colorado:

b6  
b7C

[redacted] advised that CARL OGLESBY is a scholar in residence at the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies. She advised he arrived in Aspen about June 5, 1970, from Cambridge, Massachusetts. She advised he will leave in the latter part of July, 1970, and that he is believed to be headed for Los Angeles, California.

[redacted] advised that OGLESBY is serving as a resource guest in Aspen Executive Program and working on a film strip and novel.

b6  
b7C

[redacted] stated that the short sketch she has concerning CARL OGLESBY indicates that he is a 1962 graduate of the University of Michigan and a former President of SDS and co-author of the book entitled, "Containment and Change". He is the editor of a recently published New Left reader. He wrote a play entitled "The Peace Makers" and it allegedly was scheduled to be produced in Boston in the spring of 1970.

[redacted] advised that OGLESBY was invited by the Aspen Institute and that they furnished a residence for him at Aspen.

b6  
b7C

AL 100-21067

Records, Passport Office, U. S. Department of State, Washington, D.C. as of January 21, 1971, reveal that CARL PRESTON OGLESBY on January 6, 1971, applied for a passport and indicated he would travel to Mexico on January 3, 1971, for a two week pleasure trip.

This passport was issued December 9, 1970, at Boston, Mass., Passport number A2109515. The records indicate that OGLESBY was born July 7, 1935, at Akron, Ohio, and has Social Security Number 299-30-5954. His residence was indicated as 146 A Huron Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Records of the Computer Credit Corporation, Los Angeles, California, as reviewed on October 7, 1970, contained no information identifiable with the subject.

The following source advised that the only recent information received regarding the subject indicated that this individual attended a Liberation Conference held February 28, 1970, and March 1, 1970, on the campus of the University of Southern California, Los Angeles (USC), and sponsored by the Action Coalition for Freedom, described by source as a student group at USC which included self-proclaimed anarchists and which opposes governmental centralization as a threat to individual liberty.

(AL T-7 on October 9, 1970)

The following informants familiar with New Left activities in the Los Angeles area were unable to furnish any information regarding subject's whereabouts or information concerning his activities:

AL T-8 on October 15, 1970;

AL T-9 on October 8, 1970;

AL T-10 on October 15, 1970;

AL T-11 on October 20, 1970;

AL T-12 on November 4, 1970;

AL 100-21067

AL T-13 on November 4, 1970;

AL T-14 on November 18, 1970;

AL T-15 on November 18, 1970

The following source at the California Institute of the Arts, 2404 West 7th Street, Los Angeles, advised that in early 1970 the subject applied for a position in the school of Critical Studies, California Institute of the Arts, but subject never accepted this position. The address on subject's application was listed as 321 Huron Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

(AL T-16 on November 24, 1970)

The following source at Putney, Vermont, advised that he attended a meeting or so-called get-together at the home of [redacted] Putney, Vermont, in February, 1970, mainly due to the fact that he had heard that CARL OGLESBY was going to be there and he was curious as to what OGLESBY might have to say. He said he was disappointed in this respect as OGLESBY, although present at the gathering, made no remarks at all.

b6  
b7C

Movies of North Vietnam were shown and a discussion followed. The discussion was centered around a possible revolution in the world and remarks made there indicated that the United States Government and anyone making a lot of money are to be considered the enemy. The entire purpose of the meeting seemed to be for the purpose of converting those present to the North Vietnam side of the issue. OGLESBY, according to the source, is writing a book and the remarks received at the gathering were to be used in the book. The book is entitled "Rural Poverty in Vermont". Films taken by JOHN B. DOUGLAS and ROBERT KRAMER are to be used in the book. DOUGLAS and KRAMER, according to the source are employed by "Newsreel" as film makers.

OGLESBY is expected to make several speeches in the near future relative to the New Left and is scheduled to start his speaking tour at Windham College. His itinerary was not known to source but he indicated to source that he would be on tour at various colleges until April, 1970.

(AL T-17, on February 10, 1970)

AL 100-21067

"Newsreel" is a self-described revolutionary news media that takes motion picture propaganda for the New Left. "Film News Now Foundation" is an adjunct of "Newsreel". Both are located at 322 7th Avenue, New York, New York.

The following is a description of the subject:

Name: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.

Residence: 321 Huron Avenue,  
Cambridge, Massachusetts  
or

146 A Huron Avenue,  
Cambridge, Massachusetts

White

Male

Date of Birth: July 30, 1935

Place of Birth: Akron, Ohio

Height: 6'1"

Weight: 165 pounds

Eyes: Blue

Hair: Brown

Marital Status: Married, wife,

b6  
b7C

Social Security Number: 299-30-5954 *Mr. & Mrs. Oglesby*

Parents: Father, CARL P. OGLESBY;  
Mother, ALMA WESTLING *Oglesby*

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Students for a Democratic Society, commonly known as SDS, came into existence at a founding convention held during June, 1962, at Port Huron, Michigan. From an initial posture of "participatory democracy," Marxist-Leninist ideology of various shadings became predominant during 1968 - 1969 with debate centering on how best to create a revolutionary youth movement. SDS moved from involvement in the civil rights struggle to an anti-Vietnam war position to advocacy of a militant anti-imperialist line linking up the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America with the black liberation movement in the United States. All major factions within SDS embrace Marxism-Leninism and identify internationally with China, Cuba and North Vietnam as countries leading the worldwide struggles against the United States. However, the Soviet Union was regarded as imperialist and with the Communist Party, United States of America, "revisionist" in nature.

SDS operated under a national constitution which called for an annual National Convention (NC) and quarterly National Council meetings wherein programs were initiated and debated. Three national officers were elected annually with a National Interim Committee to run the organization. Regional offices and college chapters elected delegates to the national meetings but each functioned independently on local matters. Its official publication "Fire" (formerly "New Left Notes") last appeared in December, 1969.

Internal factionalism of serious proportions developed during 1968 - 1969 and the following three factions evolved as a result of a split at the June, 1969, NC: Weatherman, Worker Student Alliance (WSA), and Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM). The effect of the split on SDS chapters throughout the country was divisive. Some aligned with one or the other of the three major factions. Others, unable to identify with any faction, disassociated with SDS completely and changed names.

The SDS national office in recent years was located at 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois. It was closed in February, 1970.

The Weatherman and RYM groups no longer consider themselves associated with SDS, and the WSA group refers to itself as the true SDS.

1.

APPENDIX

WORKER STUDENT ALLIANCE/  
PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised during August, 1969, that at the National Convention (NC) of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) held in Chicago, Illinois, during June, 1969, a split arose between the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) and the National Office (NO), the NO becoming known as the Weatherman faction. The PLP faction drew the largest support among those in attendance at the NC.

Source further advised that during late Summer, 1969, the PLP faction of SDS established its National Headquarters (NH) on the second floor of a loft-type building at 173A Massachusetts Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts. The campaign on which the PLP faction centered was to build a worker student alliance or a campus worker student alliance. Thus, they adopted the names of Worker Student Alliance (WSA) or Campus Worker Student Alliance.

Source stated that the "New Left Notes," printed in New York City, is the official publication of the WSA faction.

A second source advised during January, 1970, that within the SDS, the WSA is a caucus of which the PLP constitutes the leadership.

A third source advised during July, 1970, that during demonstrations staged in the Boston area during the Spring and Summer of 1970 by the NH, the main theme of previous demonstrations staged by the NH shifted from protestations of the Vietnam War and other United States foreign policy matters to attacking domestic issues such as racism and unemployment and demonstrating support of the "workers" struggle."

1.

APPENDIX

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

"The New York Times" city edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) which had been known as the Progressive Labor Movement.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by Milton Rosen and Mortimer Scheer after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

A source advised on June 3, 1968, that the PLP held its Second National Convention in New York City, May 31 to June 2, 1968, at which time the PLP reassured its objective of the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

The source also advised that at the Second National Convention Milton Rosen was unanimously reelected National Chairman of the PLP and Levi Laub, Fred Jerome, Jared Israel, William Epton, Jacob Rosen, Jeffrey Gordon, and Walter Linder were elected as the National Committee to lead the PLP until the next convention.

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor," a bimonthly magazine, and "Challenge-Desafio," a monthly newspaper.

Source advised on May 25, 1970, that the PLP utilizes an address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn, New York, and also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square West, New York, New York.

1.

## APPENDIX

### WEATHERMAN

Initially called the "Action Faction," Weatherman came into being immediately before the June, 1969, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) National Convention (NC). At this NC Weatherman won all three national officer positions and a majority of the National Interim Committee as well. Subsequently, they took over the SDS National Office (NO) in Chicago, and controlled its funds, paper and national records. Although internal struggle existed until late 1969, Weatherman for all major purposes controlled SDS nationally from June, 1969, until its NO closed in February, 1970. At this time it no longer considered itself part of SDS.

The term Weatherman emerged from an ideological paper prepared by its leaders entitled "You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows." ("New Left Notes" June 18, 1969). This statement outlined the basic stance of Weatherman: Marxist-Leninist in content but with strong advocacy that action not theory would bring about revolution in the United States. This posture was complemented with an international identification to the Cuban revolution and Castro's statement that the duty of a revolutionary is to make revolution.

During October, 1969, Weatherman riots in Chicago resulted in more than 260 arrests for mob action and related charges. A program of armed struggle was finalized during a December, 1969, "War Council" wherein terrorist tactics and political assassination were contemplated. The basic strength of Weatherman was then revealed to be some 300 - 350 nationally and geographically apportioned to the Midwest, New York, and some Northwest.

As its rhetoric of violence escalated, Weatherman leaders increasingly discussed the necessity of an underground operation wherein more than 90 per cent of the organization would be submerged; "affinity groups" of three - five members would function independently. In February, 1970, Weatherman leaders announced a program of "strategic sabotage" with police and military installations as primary targets.

In February, 1970, Weatherman abandoned the SDS NO, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois, and throughout the country entered an underground status.

CPO-1003

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1.

APPENDIX

REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH MOVEMENT

A source advised that the Revolutionary Youth Movement II (RYMII) faction of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) held a national conference at Atlanta, Georgia, from November 26 to 30, 1969. At this conference it was decided to form a new organization to be known as Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM), characterized as a mass anti-imperialist youth organization, said organization being proposed as separate and distinct in form and content from SDS. The "Principles of Unity" adopted by the conference included a struggle against white supremacy and male supremacy; fights against imperialism, anticomunism, fascism and oppression of youth; and support of the right of self-determination of all "oppressed nations," also support of the right of all "oppressed and exploited" peoples "to armed self-defense." It was agreed that RYM would not be a Marxist-Leninist organization; however, source said this was decided in order to indicate an organization broad enough in form to be acceptable to everyone. A temporary National Steering Committee (NSC) made up of eight females and two males was elected to govern RYM until national officers could be elected during the Spring of 1970.

RYM publications have listed the RYM National Office (NO) at Post Office Box 5421 and Post Office Box 77012 C, both Atlanta, Georgia, and a second source has advised that the NO has no office space but would probably be considered as located at Apartment 27, 1067 Alta Avenue, Northeast, Atlanta.

Second source advised that women dominated the founding conference and have continued to dominate NSC meetings to the point that "women's liberation" has apparently become the RYM's principal issue - also that RYM's poor financial condition has resulted in its failure to publish a paper. During early 1970, RYM has decided to cater to the working class rather than youth, since the potential for social revolution lies in workers.

A third source has stated that it was decided at the March, 1970, NSC meeting that RYM women had decided the organization will be molded into a "working class, Marxist-Leninist, revolutionary, anti-imperialist, problack nationalist, people's women's liberation organization."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

*In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.*

Albany, New York

April 15, 1971

**Title** CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.

**Character** SECURITY MATTER - STUDENTS FOR A  
DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

**Reference** Report of SA [redacted] dated b6  
and captioned as above. b7C

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities  
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable  
information in the past.

CPO-1005

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

To : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-142056)

From : SAC, BOSTON (100-37094) (P)

Subject: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.  
SM-SDS  
OO:AL

DATE: 5/28/71

Re Albany report of SA [redacted] dated 4/15/71  
and Albany letter to Boston dated 1/27/71.

b6  
b7C

Re letter contained on address of 146A Huron Ave.,  
Cambridge, Mass. as possibly belonging to subject.

On 2/25/71, a source who is in a position to  
furnish reliable information advised the subject was not  
receiving mail at 146A Huron Ave., Cambridge nor was  
his name listed on the mailbox at this address.

On 2/26/71, an individual in a position to furnish  
knowledgeable information advised that once a passport is  
issued the records are kept at the local passport office  
for less than 30 days and are then forwarded to Washington,  
D.C. This source could furnish no further information re-  
garding passport number A2109515 issued to subject at Boston  
on 12/9/70.

On 3/12/71, a third source who is in a position to  
furnish reliable information advised subject was not re-  
ceiving mail at 56 Hayes St., in Somerville and furthermore  
has not been receiving mail at 321 Huron Ave., since Decem-  
ber, 1970.

③ Bureau  
2 Albany (100-21067)  
2 Boston  
LEB:mm  
(7)

REC-49

105-142056-151

8-1-00 5PS-JTM  
44773 922/91

7/11/71  
NEW LEFT

CPO-1006

55 JUN 7 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

On 3/18/71, records of the Mass. Commissioner of Probation, Suffolk County Courthouse, Boston, Mass., a central repository for all traffic and criminal conviction records for the Commonwealth of Mass., were checked with negative results.

On 4/2/71, records of the Credit Bureau of Greater Boston, 6 St. James Ave., Boston, Mass. were caused to be checked with negative results.

On 5/20/71, the third source mentioned above contacted the Boston Division and advised the subject was receiving mail at 321 Huron Ave., Cambridge, Mass. and his name is listed on the mailbox at this residence.

On 5/21/71, records of the New England Telephone and Telegraph Company were searched for possible listing for subject with negative results.

Informants familiar with New Left activities in the Greater Boston area were contacted on the following dates by SA [redacted] regarding subject with negative results:

[redacted] on 4/9/71  
[redacted] on 4/20/71 b7D  
[redacted] on 5/10/71.

b6  
b7C

It appears that subject is residing in Cambridge, Mass. since above information revealed he is receiving mail at 321 Huron Ave., Cambridge. Boston has been unable to date to verify any employment for the subject.

ALBANY EXECUTE FD 138

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile - 105-142056) ) DATE: 6/15/71

FROM : SAC ALBANY (100-21067)

SUBJECT: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.  
SM - SDS

6/29/71  
W.M.

**BOSTON** apctioned individual has been the subject of a security or racial investigation by this office. The \_\_\_\_\_ Division has verified the permanent presence of the subject in its division as residing and working at the addresses listed below. The **BOSTON** Division is being considered the new office of origin.

Business Address, Name of Employing Concern and Address, Nature of Employment, and Union Affiliation, if any.	Residence address
Unknown	321 Huron Avenue, Cambridge, Mass.

## Key Facility Data

Geographical Reference Number \_\_\_\_\_ Responsibility \_\_\_\_\_

## Check the following applicable statements:

This individual is the subject of a  Security Index Card  Agitator Index Card.  Reserve Index Card.  
(The Bureau is requested to make the appropriate changes in the  Security Index  Agitator Index at the Seat of Government. The **BOSTON** Division should affix the addresses indicated above and the appropriate case file number.) I

This subject is tabbed Priority \_\_\_\_\_.

This subject was carried as a Top Functionary.

Handwriting specimens have been furnished to the Bureau.

A photograph has been furnished to the Bureau.

Dissemination made Secret Service locally re above information.

A security flash notice has been placed on subject and a copy of this form is being designated for the Identification Division for appropriate action.

## The following pertinent items are being forwarded to the new Office of Origin with its copies of this letter:

Security Index Cards  
 Agitator Index Card  
 Reserve Index Cards  
 Serials (specify) (see page 2)  
 Photograph of subject (check appropriate item listed below)  
 Negative and three copies of most recent or best likeness photograph.  
 None available.  
 Previously furnished.

REC-37

105-142056-152

RUC CPO-1008

TB JUN 22 1971

2. Bureau (Registered Mail)

2. Boston (100-37094) (RM)(Encs .En18)

(Registered Mail)

1-Albany

5 TWO:cmj

59 JUL 1 1971

8/18/71  
C-1-2 The B.S. 922191  
Haynes

447951

RECEIVED  
FBI - BOSTON  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-7-00 BY SP

AL 100-21067

1. San Francisco report of SA FRANCIS T. DAVIS  
dated 1/23/70.

2. Newspaper article captioned, "Jeers or  
Jeremaids?".

3. San Francisco report of SA CHESTER L. JACOBY  
dated 10/27/69.

4. San Francisco report of SA CHESTER L. JACOBY  
dated 4/14/69.

5. Mexico City report of SA M. D. CRAWFORD, JR.  
dated 2/10/69.

6. Cincinnati letter to Bureau dated 10/18/68.

7. Chicago report of SA [redacted] dated  
9/28/68.

8. Letter from [redacted]  
Internal Revenue Service, to Mr. YEAGLEY, dated  
6/11/68.

9. Letter from [redacted]  
Internal Revenue Service, to Mr. YEAGLEY, dated  
7/2/68.

10. Cincinnati report of SA [redacted]  
dated 6/24/68.

11. Cincinnati report of SA [redacted]  
dated 12/11/67.

12. Detroit report of SA J. RAYMOND COGHLAN dated  
10/14/66.

13. Detroit report of SA J. RAYMOND COGHLAN dated  
6/30/66.

14. Detroit report of SA J. RAYMOND COGHLAN dated  
10/8/65.

b6  
b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-142056)

DATE: 8/26/71

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (100-37094) (P)

SUBJECT: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.  
SM-SDS (KEY ACTIVIST)  
OO: BOSTON

Re Albany FD-128 captioned as above and dated 6/15/71. No copies of FD-122 and FD-366 have been submitted.

On 8/20/71, a knowledgeable source familiar with the 300 block area of Huron St., Cambridge, Mass., advised that CARL P. OGLESBY, JR. was presently residing at 321 Huron St., Cambridge, Mass. Source further stated that OGLESBY was presently employed as a writer for the Boston Globe (a daily newspaper in the greater Boston area).

On 8/23/71, a pretext phone call was made to the Boston Globe, 135 William T. Morrissey Blvd, Dorchester, Mass. Caller asked for CARL P. OGLESBY and was informed that he could be reached at the City Desk, telephone number 288-1241.

Addendum to Key Activist File being submitted.

2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Boston  
JG/dd  
(4)

REC-31

105-142056-153

AUG 30 1971

8-1-00  
44 731

SAC-Je/TMR  
9/22/71

NEW LEFT

CPO-1010



5010-108

1 - Mr. W. H. Floyd

1 -

b6  
b7C

SAC, Boston (100-37094)

9/9/71

REC-37  
Director, FBI (105-142056)

- 153

CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.  
SM - SDS

EX-100

Reurlet 8/26/71.

For your information subject was removed from the Key Activist List per instructions set out in Bureau letter to Albany dated 2/16/70. While there is no indication you have a copy of that letter in your file, the information regarding subject's deletion from the Key Activist List is set out on Cover Page D of the report of SA [redacted] dated 4/15/71 at Albany, copies furnished your office.

b6  
b7C

Accordingly, you are to delete (KEY ACTIVIST) from future communications and you are to disregard submitting an addendum to the Key Activist file at the Bureau.

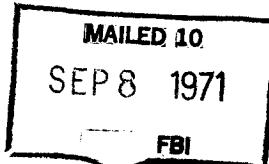
HAG:bjn

(5) *bjn*

NOTE:

Boston, which has recently assumed origin in this case, indicated in referenced letter that an addendum to the Key Activist file was being submitted. Boston also included (KEY ACTIVIST) as part of title in referenced communication.

olson  
'elt  
ullivan  
lohr  
ishop  
rennan, C.D.  
allahan  
asper  
onrad  
albey  
ale  
ond  
osen  
avel  
alters  
oyars  
ele. Room  
olmes



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-1-00 BY SP-74793  
10229, 74793

62 SEP 14 1971

CPO-1011

Routing Slip

FD-4 (Rev. 4-28-67)

Date 8/26/71

To:

Director

FILE # 100-142056

Att.:

SAC

Title CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR

ASAC

Supv.

Agent

SE

IC

RE: San Francisco report of

CC

SA FRANCIS T. DAVIS dated

Steno

1/23/70.

Clerk

Rotor #:

**ACTION DESIRED**

Acknowledge

Open Case

Assign Reassign

Prepare lead cards

Bring file

Prepare tickler

Call me

Return assignment card

Correct

Return file

Deadline

Search and return

Deadline passed

See me

Delinquent

Serial #

Discontinue

Post  Recharge  Return

Expedite

Send to

File

Submit new charge out

For information

Submit report by

Handle

Type

Initial & return

105-142056

NOT RECORDED

Leads need attention

SEP 10 1971

Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

*✓* *JLH* *✓*

SAC JAMES L. HANDLEY

Office BOSTON

\* GPO : 1969 O-361-312

See reverse side

58 SEP 17 1971

~~SEARCHED~~ ~~INDEXED~~ ~~FILED~~  
~~44-7931-9221-1~~

DATE 8-1-00 BY SFS-IT FILE # 44-7931-9221-1

CPO-1012



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

SUBJECT: **CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.**

CHARACTER: **SM-SDS**

REFERENCE: **San Francisco report of SA FRANCIS T. DAVIS  
dated 1/23/70.**

Referenced communication contained subject's residence and/or employment address. A recent change has been determined and is being set forth below (change only specified):

Residence:

Employment: **Writer  
Boston Globe  
135 William T. Morrissey Blvd.  
Dorchester, Mass.**

Copy to 88  
by routing slip for  
 info  action  
date 9/9/71  
by Stag/mh

*5* CPO-1013

8-1-00 5pm JFM/B  
105-142058 4479 92219

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- 105-142050)0-17 (13A) BS  
9-14-71 GZW  
) DATE: 8/26/71  
JW/HW

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (100-37094) (P)

SUBJECT: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.  
SM-SDS (KEY ACTIVIST)  
OO: BOSTONCards VID  
Cards Sent 00  
9/27/71  
medRe: Boston letter to Bureau dated and captioned as above. It is recommended that a Security Index Card be prepared on the above-captioned individual. The Security Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows (specify change only):

Name							
Aliases				<input type="checkbox"/> Native Born		Tab	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Naturalized		<input type="checkbox"/> Priority I	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Alien		<input type="checkbox"/> Priority II	
<input type="checkbox"/> ANA		<input type="checkbox"/> BPP		<input type="checkbox"/> MIN		<input type="checkbox"/> SNC	
<input type="checkbox"/> AWC		<input type="checkbox"/> COMMUNIST		<input type="checkbox"/> NOI		<input type="checkbox"/> SWP	
<input type="checkbox"/> BNT		<input type="checkbox"/> JFG		<input type="checkbox"/> PLP		<input type="checkbox"/> PPA	
				<input type="checkbox"/> PRN		<input type="checkbox"/> SDS	
				<input type="checkbox"/> SPL		<input type="checkbox"/> WWP	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Miscellaneous (Specify) _____			
Date of Birth	Place of Birth				Race	Sex	
						<input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female	
Business Address, Name of Employing Concern and Address, Nature of Employment, and Union Affiliation, if any.				Residence Address			
<b>Writer:</b> Boston Globe 135 William T. Morrissey, Blvd. Dorchester, Mass.				<u>105-142056-</u> <u>105-142050-</u> NOT RECORDED <u>AUG 30 1971</u>			
Key Facility Data							
Geographical Reference Number _____				Responsibility _____			

REGISTERED MAIL

58 SEP 17 1971

RESEARCHED SECTION  
SEARCHED  
INDEXED  
FILED  
CPO-1014

DATE 8-1-00 SEP 17 1971

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-142056)

DATE: 10/29/71

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (100-37094) (P)

SUBJECT: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.  
SM - SDS  
OO:BS

ATTN:

8/20 SPS-347mp  
447931  
9/22/71

ReBsl to Bureau, 8/26/71.

The following agencies, all in the Boston area, were contacted re the subject with negative results:

<u>Agency</u>	<u>Date Contacted</u>	<u>Contacted By</u>
Mass. Commissioner of Probation, a central repository for all traffic and criminal violation records in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts	8/20/71	IC [redacted] b6 b7C
Credit Bureau of Greater Boston	8/20/71	SC [redacted]
Registry of Motor Vehicles	8/19/71	IC [redacted]

On 8/23/71, [redacted] contacted by SA [redacted] advised that OGLESBY has not been active in local SDS operations.

b7D

b6

b7C

The following Boston sources, familiar with New Left activity in the Boston area, were contacted regarding OGLESBY with negative results:

REC-53

105-142056 - 154

2 - Bureau (RM)

2 - Boston

JG/cmd

(4) NOV 5 1971

EX-100

17 NOV 5 1971

CPD-1015



5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

BS 100-37094

<u>Source</u>	<u>Date of Contact</u>	<u>Contacted by</u>
[redacted]	3/23/71	SA [redacted]
[redacted]	3/23/71	SA [redacted]
[redacted]	3/30/71	SA [redacted]
[redacted]	9/1/71	SA [redacted]
[redacted]	9/1/71	SA [redacted]

b7D

b6  
b7C

On 11/1/71, a knowledgeable source advised that OGLESBY is still residing at 321 Huron Avenue, Cambridge, Mass., and is still employed by the Boston Globe (a daily newspaper published in Boston, Mass.)

LEAD

BOSTON

AT CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

Will recontact source to verify subject's residence and employment.

BS 100-37094

NON SYMBOL INFORMANT PAGE

Source referred to in instant letter is



b6  
b7C  
b7D

F B I

Date: 12/3/71

Transmit the following in

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446997 Sub 73)  
(Attn: NCIC)  
FROM: SAC, BOSTON (100-39103) (P)  
  
SUBJECT: NEW LEFT MOVEMENT - VIOLENCE  
SM - NL  
NATIONAL CRIME INFORMATION CENTER (NCIC)

The following individual is a Category I, ADEX (formerly Priority I, Security Index) subject of the Boston Office, who is not presently included in the NCIC Wanted Persons File.

Subject's name is being submitted to Bureau for inclusion in NCIC "Scoop" file for use of Bureau only.

Name:	CARL PRESTON OGLESEY, JR.
Sex:	Male
Race:	White
DOB:	7/30/35
POB:	Akron, Ohio
Height:	5'1"
Weight:	165 pounds
Hair:	Brown
Eyes:	Blue (wears glasses)
Scars:	None known
Social Security No.:	290-30-5954
Address:	321 Huron Avenue Cambridge, Mass.

③ Bureau (RM)  
③-Boston (2-100-39103)  
(1-100-37094)  
JG/em  
(6)

105-142056 -  
NOT FILED  
19 DEC 17 1971

CPO-1018

51 DEC 20 1971

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1964 O - 200-300-000

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- 105-142056)

DATE: 2/3/72

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (100-37094) (P)

Cards UTD  
Cards Sent 00

3-23-72  
dkt

SUBJECT: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY  
SM-SDS

b6  
b7C

Re: Albany report of SA [redacted] 4/15/71.

Recommend:  ADEX Card  ADEX Card changed (specify change only)  Subject removed (succinct summary attached)

Name							
Aliases				<p>Tab <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> [redacted] Category <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Category III</p>			
<input type="checkbox"/> AWC		<input type="checkbox"/> COMMUNIST		<input type="checkbox"/> NL		<input type="checkbox"/> PLP	
<input type="checkbox"/> BNT		<input type="checkbox"/> JFG		<input type="checkbox"/> NOI		<input type="checkbox"/> PRN	
<input type="checkbox"/> BPP		<input type="checkbox"/> MIN		<input type="checkbox"/> PPA		<input type="checkbox"/> SNC	
				<input type="checkbox"/> SDS		<input type="checkbox"/> SWP	
				<input type="checkbox"/> SPL		<input type="checkbox"/> WWP	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Miscellaneous (Specify) _____			
Date of Birth	Place of Birth				Race	Sex	
					<input type="checkbox"/> Male	<input type="checkbox"/> Female	

Business Address, Name of Employing Concern and Address, Nature of Employment, and Union Affiliation, if any.		Residence Address
		<p>105-142056 NOT RECORDED 2 FEB 7 1972</p>

Key Facility Data		
Geographical Reference Number _____ Responsibility _____		

2 - Bureau (RM)

1 - Boston

JG/dā

(3)

RESERVE FOR ACTION

Y/att

MAR 27 1972

81-00 447931 90279 SPS-2/TMB

CPO-1019

In 1965 and 1966, subject served as the National President of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). From 1965 through 1969 OGLESBY made numerous trips and speeches throughout the United States and in many foreign countries in which he opposed the Capitalistic form of government of the United States; U.S. involvement in Vietnam; and the U.S. Selective Service System. In October, 1969 OGLESBY publicly stated that he is no longer associated with SDS and described himself as an independent radical. Since that time OGLESBY has been employed as a writer, playwright, song writer, singer and lecturer. Informants familiar with New Left Activities in Boston, Mass., are unable to furnish any information that would indicate subject has been engaged in New Left Activity.

A careful review of the subject's file indicates that OGLESBY although not a member of or participant in activities of revolutionary organizations, has exhibited a revolutionary ideology and is likely to seize upon the opportunity presented by national emergency to interfere with the survival and effective operation of national, state, and local governments and of the defense efforts.

Subject was formerly carried by the Boston Office on the Security Index, Priority I, and UACB will be carried on ADEX, Category III.

Accordingly, the next annual report will be due 4/15/72.

NR003 LA CODE

6:42PM NITEL 4-6-72 DCB

TO DIRECTOR (105-142056)

ALBANY (100-21067)

FROM LOS ANGELES (100-67470) (P) 2P

CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR., SM-SDS. 00: ALBANY

TELETYPE  
ATTN: DID

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Campbell \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mehr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Miller, E. \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Pender \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bates \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walkart \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sayers \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION  
IN PAST ADVISED TODAY, CARL OGLESBY, WHO IS BEING BILLED  
AS "RADICAL AUTHOR OF "CONTAINMENT AND CHANGE", IS  
SCHEDULED AS GUEST SPEAKER DURING AFTERNOON OF APRIL  
FIVE LAST, BOVARD AUDITORIUM, UNIVERSITY OF  
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA (USC), LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA.  
HIS APPEARANCE IS PART OF SERIES UNDER SPONSORSHIP  
OF CONFERENCE COMMITTEE OF ASSOCIATED STUDENTS OF  
USC (ASSC).

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE SAN FRANCISCO LET TO BUREAU MARCH TWENTY EIGHT,  
NINETEEN SIXTY NINE, WHICH INDICATES BUREAU WAS  
DESIROUS OF OBTAINING TAPES OF SUBJECT'S SPEECHES. IN  
VIEW OF USC ADMINISTRATION'S RESTRICTIONS AGAINST MAKING  
END PAGE ONE

REC-51

105-142056-155

APR 11 1972

CPO-1021

APR 11 1972  
(Info)  
SAC/MB

8-1-00 SPS-JEWB  
447931 920191

LA 100-67470

PAGE TWO

RECORDINGS ON CAMPUS, NO ATTEMPTS BEING MADE TO RECORD  
THIS SPEECH. ABOVE SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

b7D

WHO WILL PROVIDE SUMMARY TOMORROW OF SPEECH, WHICH WILL  
BE FURNISHED BUREAU AND ALBANY.

END

HOLD

NR 013 LA CODE

1129PM NITEL 4-7-72 NJZ

TO DIRECTOR (105-142056) ATTN: DID  
ALBANY (100-21067)

BOSTON

FROM LOS ANGELES (100-67470) (RUC) 5P

CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR., SM-SDS. OO: ALBANY.

SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION  
IN PAST FURNISHED FOLLOWING SUMMARY OF SPEECH GIVEN  
WEDNESDAY, APRIL FIFTH LAST IN BOVARD AUDITORIUM ON  
CAMPUS OF UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA (USC),  
AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA, BY CARL OGLESBY.

OGLESBY WAS INTRODUCED AS PAST PRESIDENT OF  
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS), WHO IS CURRENTLY  
PROFESSOR AT MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY (MIT).

OGLESBY SAID AT PRESENT HE LEANS TOWARD "NEW  
MYSTICISM," WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS BEING VERY CLOSE TO  
"NEW RADICALISM." HE SAID "THE WORLD HAS CHANGED. IT IS MUCH DIFFERENT THAN IT WAS AT CHICAGO IN NINETEEN  
SIXTY-EIGHT...FROM NINETEEN SIXTY TO NINETEEN SIXTY-EIGHT  
THERE WAS A COALITION OF PEOPLE WHO BELIEVED A REVOLUTION

END PAGE ONE F13

51 APR 17 1972  
Adm. data deleted

cc: Horner

8-1-00 5P5-JC/TMB  
447931 922191

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. Felt  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Campbell  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. E. Felt  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Cleveland  
Mr. Fenster  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gandy  
Mr. Holmes  
Mr. Nichols  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

Shadwell  
Doran  
5-7-8  
b6  
b7C

22 APR 11 1972

CPO-1023

PAGE TWO

LA 100-67470

WAS NECESSARY AND OF THOSE WHO INTUITIVELY BELIEVED REVOLUTION DIDN'T HAVE TO REALLY TAKE PLACE. REVOLUTION REALLY WASN'T A POSSIBILITY BECAUSE THOSE IN POWER WOULD NOT ALLOW IT, JUST AS THEY PREVENTED IT IN THE THIRTY'S THE ELITE POWER IN NINETEEN THIRTY-EIGHT AND THIRTY-NINE HAD THE CHOICE TO CONTINUE THE OLD WAYS THAT WERE LEADING TO A SOCIAL REVOLUTION OR TO PREVENT IT BY EXTERNALIZING THE INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT. PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT PROVOKED THE JAPANESE TO ATTACK PEARL HARBOR BECAUSE THOSE IN POWER THOUGHT ANOTHER WORLD WAR WAS PREFERABLE TO A SOCIAL REVOLUTION."

HE SAID, "WHENEVER CONDITIONS FOR REVOLUTION EXIST, CONDITIONS ALSO EXIST FOR ACTION THAT WOULD PRECEDE AND PREEMPT THE REVOLUTION. THE ONLY CONCLUSION COULD BE THAT IN THE ADVENT OF A REVOLUTION, THERE WOULD BE A WAR -- AND IN OUR TIME IT MEANT A NUCLEAR WAR. CHICAGO PROVED IT COULD COME TO THAT... DESPITE LATER PROTESTS AGAINST THE COMBODIAN INVASION, IT WAS CHACAGO THAT MARKED THE BEGINNING OF THE END OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT. THE WHOLE WORLD COULD SEE ONE SIDE THAT HAD A LOT OF MORALITY AND THE OTHER SIDE THAT HAD A LOT OF BAYONETS."

ACCORDING TO OGLESBY, "AFTER CHICAGO IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO BELIEVE IN REVOLUTION AND TRUE REFORM. YOU DID ONE OF TWO

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

LA 100-67470

THINGS. YOU EITHER QUIT OR YOU WENT UNDERGROUND. I WENT UNDERGROUND IN MY OWN WAY, INTO A PERSONAL UNDERGROUND. I WAS BURNED OUT, A TERM USED FOR THOSE WHO WERE ONCE ACTIVE ALL OVER THE PLACE BUT WERE LATER NOT HEARD FROM."

OGLESBY'S APPEARANCE AT USC WAS UNDER SPONSORSHIP OF CONFERENCE COMMITTEE OF ASSOCIATED STUDENTS OF USC (ASSC). HIS AUDIENCE WAS LARGELY MADE UP OF STUDENTS AND SOME FACULTY MEMBERS OF USC.

SDS WAS FOUNDED DURING JUNE NINETEEN SIXTY-TWO, AT PORT HURON, MICHIGAN, AND IN THE NINETEEN SIXTYS FUNCTIONED AS THE LEADING NEW LEFT CAMPUS-BASED STUDENT ORGANIZATION IN THE U.S. FROM AN INITIAL POSTURE OF "PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY," SDS MOVED TO A RADICAL-REVOLUTIONARY POSITION WITH DEBATE CENTERING ON HOW BEST TO CREATE A REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH MOVEMENT. INTERNAL FACTIONALISM PRODUCED A SPLIT DURING THE SDS NATIONAL CONVENTION IN JUNE NINETEEN SIXTY-NINE, WHICH RESULTED IN THE FOLLOWING THREE FACTIONS:

END PAGE THREE

PAGE FOUR

LA 100-67470

WEATHERMAN; WORKED STUDENT ALLIANCE(WSA); AND REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH MOVEMENT (RYM). THE WEATHERMAN AND RYM ARE NO LONGER AFFILIATED WITH SDS. THE WSA CONTINUES TO USE THE NAME SDS AND MAINTAINS ITS NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS IN CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.

WEHERMAN, FORMERLY A FACTION OF SDS, CONTROLLED THE SDS NATIONAL OFFICE FROM JUNE SIXTY-NINE UNTIL ITS CLOSING IN FEBRUARY SEVENTY. WETHERMAN THEN ENTERED AN UNDERGROUND STATUS AND ADOPTED A TACTIC OF "STRATEGIC SABOTAGE," WITH POLICE AND MILITARY INSTALLATIONS DESIGNATED AS PRIMARY TARGETS.

RYM, A PRO-COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH ORGANIZATION, WAS ORGANIZED IN NINETEEN SIXTY-NINE, FIRST AS A FACTION WITHIN SDS, THEN AS A SEPARATE GROUP WITH HEADQUARTERS IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA. RYM WAS UNSUCCESSFUL IN ATTRACTING SUPPORT AND BY MID-NINETEEN SEVENTY IT WAS PRACTICALLY DEFUNCT.

WSA, A FACTION OF SDS, WAS EXPELLED FROM SDS  
END PAGE FOUR

PAGE FIVE

LA 100-67470

IN JUNE NINETEEN SIXTY-NINE, BY THE THEN DOMINANT WEATHERMAN FACTION, BUT CONTINUED TO USE THE NAME SDS AND OPENED AN OFFICE IN BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS. WSA ALIGNED IDEOLOGICALLY WITH THE PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY (PLP) AND IN FEBRUARY SEVENTY-ONE MOVED TO CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. SDS/WSA CURRENTLY SHARES OFFICE SPACE WITH THE PLP IN CHICAGO.

PLP WAS FOUNDED IN NINETEEN SIXTY-TWO BY INDIVIDUALS EXPelled FROM THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, FOR FOLLOWING THE CHINESE COMMUNIST LINE. ITS OBJECTIVE IS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A MILITANT WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT BASED ON MARXISM-LENINISM AND MAO TSE-TUNG THOUGHT.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE LOS ANGELES NITEL APRIL SIX LAST.

ALTHOUGH LOS ANGELES FILES INDICATE ALBANY IS OFFICE OF ORIGIN, SINCE SUBJECT WAS INTRODUCED AS BEING CURRENT EMPLOYEE OF MIT, BOSTON IS BEING FURNISHED THIS INFORMATION ALSO.

SOURCE UTILIZED IS

b7D

NO FURTHER INVESTIGATION BEING CONDUCTED. NO LHM BEING SUBMITTED.

END

CPO-1027

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO: Director, FBI 105-142056

DATE: 4/25/72

FROM: SAC, BOSTON (100-37094)(cc)

SUBJECT: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY  
SM - SDS

REFERENCE: Albany report of SA [redacted] dated 4/15/71

b6  
b7C

This letter is submitted in lieu of a report inasmuch as no pertinent data has been developed since date of referenced communication. FD-305 enclosed.

**RESIDENCE:**  Subject's employment  residence  remains the same.  
**EMPLOYMENT:**  Source:

**Employment:**  Subject's employment  residence  has changed to:  
**Residence:** Lecturer, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge  
12 Arnold Circle, Apt. 3, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Source: Knowledgeable source, Boston Office

**ACTIVITY:** The following security informants and established sources were contacted on the indicated dates and were unable to furnish any pertinent information regarding subject:

• Informant	Date Contacted
[redacted]	4/3/72
[redacted]	4/3/72
[redacted]	4/6/72
[redacted]	4/11/72
[redacted]	4/12/72

b7D

Established Source	Date Contacted
--------------------	----------------

105-142056-157

Enc. 1

1 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Boston

JG: cms  
(25) MAY 0 1972

CPO-1028

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE ATTACHED

44793 8-1-88 SPO-DRM

BS 100-37094

NON-SYMBOL SOURCE ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

Knowledgeable source is [redacted]  
[redacted] Cambridge, Massachusetts.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

NON-SYMBOL SOURCE ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

BS 100-37094

1.  Subject's name is included in the ADEX., Category  I  II  III  IV
2.  The data appearing on the ADEX Card are current.
3.  Changes on the ADEX Card are necessary and Form FD-122 submitted to the Bureau.
4.  A suitable photograph  is  is not available.  
Date photograph was taken June, 1965.
5.  Subject is employed in a key facility and \_\_\_\_\_ is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are \_\_\_\_\_.
6.  This report is classified \_\_\_\_\_ because (state reason)
7.  Subject previously interviewed (dates) \_\_\_\_\_.  
 Subject was not  interviewed  reinterviewed because (state reason)  
**subject's activities as a writer and lecturer suggest the possibility of his making an attempted interview the subject of a speech or publication, thus, causing embarrassment to the Bureau.**
8.  This case no longer meets the ADEX criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation.
9.  This case has been reevaluated in the light of the ADEX criteria and it continues to fall within the criteria of Category marked above because (state reason)  
**of subject's exhibited revolutionary ideology.**
10.  This case has been reevaluated in the light of the ADEX criteria and it should be tabbed Category  I  II  III  IV because (state reason)  
**of subject's exhibited revolutionary ideology.**
11.  Security Flash Notice (FD-165) to Identification Division:  
 Submitted April, 1971 (date) Placed  Yes  No
12.  Subject is Extremist in Category I of ADEX and Stop Notice has been placed with the Bureau Stop Index.

CPO-1030

ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO Director, FBI (Bufile- **105-142056**)) DATE: **4/25/72**

FROM SAC, BOSTON (100-37094)

Cards UTD  
Cards Sent 00SUBJECT: **CARL PRESTON OGLESBY**  
**SM - SDS**5-25-72  
8/72Re: **FD 400 from Boston dated 4/25/72**Recommend:  ADEX Card  ADEX Card changed (specify change only)  Subject removed (succinct summary attached)

Name							
Aliases				<input type="checkbox"/> Native Born <input type="checkbox"/> Naturalized <input type="checkbox"/> Alien		Tab	
<input type="checkbox"/> AWC <input type="checkbox"/> BNT <input type="checkbox"/> BPP		<input type="checkbox"/> COMMUNIST <input type="checkbox"/> JFG <input type="checkbox"/> MIN		<input type="checkbox"/> NL <input type="checkbox"/> NOI		<input type="checkbox"/> PLP <input type="checkbox"/> PPA <input type="checkbox"/> Miscellaneous (Specify) _____	
Date of Birth		Place of Birth				Race	Sex
							<input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female
Business Address, Name of Employing Concern and Address, Nature of Employment, and Union Affiliation, if any.				Residence Address			
<b>Lecturer</b> <b>Humanities Department</b> <b>Massachusetts Institute of</b> <b>Technology</b> <b>Cambridge, Massachusetts</b>				<b>12 Arnold Circle</b> <b>Apartment 3</b> <b>Cambridge, Massachusetts</b> <b>CPO-1031</b>			
Key Facility Data							

Geographical Reference Number	Responsibility
-------------------------------	----------------

2-Bureau (RM) routine split 4/25/72 NOT RECORDED  
 I-Boston advised file review does not meet ADEX criteria, see memo 2172 APR 28 1972  
 JG:cms (3)

(Initials)  
RESEARCH SECTION

2-10000000  
55MAY 31 1972

447931 92291

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5-1-00 BY SP5-JC/TMS

RECORDED  
5-1-00 BY SP5-JC/TMS



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Boston, Massachusetts

April 25, 1972

SUBJECT: **CARL PRESTON OGLESBY**

CHARACTER: **SECURITY MATTER - STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY**

REFERENCE: **Boston memorandum dated August 26, 1971**

Referenced communication contained subject's residence and/or employment address. A recent change has been determined and is being set forth below (change only specified):

Residence: **12 Arnold Circle, Apartment 3  
Cambridge, Massachusetts**

Employment: **Lecturer, Humanities Department  
Massachusetts Institute of Technology  
Cambridge, Massachusetts**

Copy to SS  
by routing slip for  
 info  action  
date 3-96-72  
by JMS/96

CPO-1032

447931 922191  
This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-1-08 BY SP-TECH

## Stop Index File Entry, Cancellation, Modification

FD-457 (Rev. 10-18-72)

TO: Director, FBI ( 105-142056 )

FROM: SAC, BOSTON (100-37094) (C)

SUBJECT: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.  
SM - SDS  
(OO: BS)

DATE: 7/12/73

ADEX Extremist  
 Urban Guerrilla Warfare Suspect  
 Venceremos Brigade Member  
 Weatherman  
 Bank Robbery Suspect  
 Top Jewel Thief  
 Other: (Specify)

Place Stop (See NCIC Manual, Part II, for Field Codes)  
 Modify Stop (Enter Only Information That Is To Be Changed)  
 Cancel Stop (Enter Name And One Other Identifier) (Enter Reason for Cancel under MIS Field)

NAM	Last Name	First	Middle	AKA	Last Name	First	Middle
	OGLESBY	CARL	PRESTON, JR.				
FBI	Number	SOC	Social Security Number				
MNU	Miscellaneous No.	DOB	Date of Birth	POB	Place of Birth	RAC	Race
		7	30	35	Akron, Ohio		
		Month	Day	Year			

## MIS Miscellaneous

Cancelled as he was removed from ADEX.

105-142056-

LIC	License Plate No.	LIS	License Plate State	LIY	License Plate Month	Plate Type
					NOT RECORDED	
VIN	Vehicle Identification Number	VYR	Vehicle Year	VMA	Vehicle Make	Vehicle Model
OLN	Operator's License Number	OLS	Op. License State	OLY	Op. Lic. Yr. Exp.	

## Caution Statement

2 Bureau (RM)  
70101-1973  
1 Boston  
RPS/lc (3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-1-00 BY SP6/JR/TMS

447931 922191

DATA PROCESSING

CPO-1033

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-472769)

DATE: 2/19/75

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (100-46942) (RUC)

SUBJECT: THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE  
FOR A FIFTH ESTATE (OCFE)  
IS  
(OO: WFO)

DECLASSIFIED

12-22-89

Appeal nov. 84-0251 & 84-0388

Re Butte tel, 1/7/75, captioned "The Covered Wagon Coffee House, IS-RA (BUfile: 100-466543)"; WFO letter, captioned as above, dated 1/22/75. *u*

Referenced Butte tel advised that on 1/7/75, [redacted] advised that [redacted] Covered b6 Wagon (CW), Mountain Home, Idaho; [redacted] member b7C CW, left Idaho, 1/6/75, to join [redacted] in Mass. *q(u)*

This group was to work on counter-intelligence operation called the Fifth Estate, to counter intelligence activities of the CIA, FBI and military. Butte requested Boston to contact logical sources for further information on the Fifth Estate. *q(u)* b7D

On 1/14/75, [redacted] obtained from The Red Book, a revolutionary-oriented bookstore, Cambridge, Mass., a pamphlet entitled, "The Counter Spy Campaign" and a copy of 'Fifth Estate Intelligence Report.' *q(u)*

The latter pamphlet describes the Counter-Spy Campaign as a project of the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate Post Office Box 647, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, D.C. 20044. *u* CPO-1034

Copies of pamphlets are furnished for information of the Bureau. *u*

105-142056

6 - Bureau (RM) (Encls. 3) (1 - 105-142056) (CARL OGLESBY)  
(1 - 100-466543) (THE COVERED WAGON)  
(1 - 100-New) (ASSASSINATION INFO BUREAU) NOT RECORDED  
(1 - 105-192109) [redacted] b6  
2 - Butte (Info) (100-9224) (RM) b7C  
4 - Boston (100-46942)  
(1 - 100-45558) (COVERED WAGON) (1 - 100-37094) (OGLESBY)  
(1 - 105-17131) [redacted]

DJO/mkm

(14) 4 1975

6-20-79  
CLASS. & EXT. BY 503 Tab 1/11  
REASON-FCIM II 1-2-4-2 (2)  
DATE OF REVIEW 2-19-95  
#37 201

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP  
ON 1/18/76 TDA

On 2/1/75, [redacted] attended a series of lectures and movies at Boston University concerned with the assassination of President JOHN F. KENNEDY, his brother, ROBERT F. KENNEDY, and MARTIN LUTHER KING. [redacted] (BUfile: 105-192109) (BSfile: 105-17131), was observed helping individuals sponsoring the program in organizing the activities. [redacted] was observed on several instances in the company of [redacted] At one point, [redacted] was at a booth where a handbill entitled "Fifth Estate Intelligence Report" and sub-titled "Cointelpro. An Analysis of the FBI Memos," (same as obtained by [redacted]) was being handed out to people as they entered a room to see a movie about the assassination of President KENNEDY. ~~(u)~~

b7D

b6

b7C

[redacted] was also observed with people who were handing out a "Position Paper" of the Assassination Information Bureau (AIB), entitled "The Politics of Conspiracy." ~~u~~

b6

b7C

A copy of this paper is furnished for the information of the Bureau. This paper states that the purpose of the AIB is to politicize the issue of the presidential assassinations, in which they include the killings of President KENNEDY, Senator KENNEDY, Rev. MARTIN LUTHER KING, and the shooting of Governor WALLACE. The paper states, "It is to see all the shootings as connected events in a struggle for power, continuous through Watergate and the late CIA, IRS, FBI disclosures. It is this power struggle of secret elites which, itself, must be broken up." ~~u~~

At the end of the paper is a statement "Drafted by CARL OGLESBY for the AIB. We welcome your response and reaction. AIB, 63 Inman St., Cambridge, Mass. 02139." ~~u~~

CARL PRESTON OGLESBY is subject of BSfile: 100-37094, BUfile: 105-142056. OGLESBY, in 1969, was described as a writer and consultant editor to "Ramparts" magazine, described as the largest left-of-center commercial magazine in the history of the U.S. In 1972, OGLESBY was a lecturer, Humanities Dept., Mass. Institute of Technology (MIT), Cambridge, Mass. ~~u~~

BS 100-46942

The 1974-75 Boston Telephone Directory has a listing for Assassination Information Bureau, 63 Inman St., Cambridge, Mass. 661-8411. **u**

Boston file for OGLESEY reflects that on 11/23/73, CARL OGLESBY and MARK LANE were scheduled to appear at a rally sponsored by the Committee to Open the Archives and Examine the Evidence, and the New York City Yip-Zippies, at Washington, D.C. 4

Since it appears that the AIB is an outgrowth of and/or affiliated with the OCFE, and in view of Bureau instructions concerning OCFE, as set out in referenced WFO letter, no further investigation will be conducted concerning the AIB, UACB. 4





~~SECRET~~

enclosure 3

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC  
DECLASSIFICATION  
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1)  
DATE 12-21-2011

7. OGLESBY, Carl Preston<sup>1</sup>

SDS Officer -- President, 1965-1966.<sup>2</sup> 65179 DMH/DF  
Member, National Interim Committee, 1969.<sup>3</sup>

Travel -- 1. South Vietnam 1965.<sup>4</sup>

2. Sweden, May 1967. OGLESBY traveled to  
Stockholm to participate in the Inter-  
national War-Crimes Tribunal.<sup>5</sup>

3. Japan, Circa May 1967. OGLESBY was a  
special guest of Beheiren on television.

4. Cuba, January 1969, on assignment from  
Time-Life magazine.<sup>6</sup>

## Contacts

(S)

b1 Per CIA  
b3  
b6  
b7C

(S)

The FBI reported that five SDS members (not  
identified) expected to travel to Cuba on or  
about 1 January 1969.<sup>8</sup>

## 8. SPECTOR, Morgan Charles

CP Connected -- both parents CP members.

DCA Connected -- attended meetings, 1964, 1965.

Travel -- no known foreign travel.

9. SPIEGEL, Michael Louis<sup>1</sup>

National Secretary, 1967.<sup>2</sup>

SDS Officer -- Member, National Interim Committee, 1969.<sup>3</sup>

Travel -- 1. SPIEGEL reportedly met with North Viet-

EX-3363

~~SECRET~~

Supt: SDS

CPO-1039

SP1 CLK/JS

SEC

DATE: 1-12-05  
FBI INFO CLASSIFICATION: UNCLASSIFIED  
DECLASSIFICATION: 12-21-2030  
C4 # 02-0603